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READINGS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
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READINGS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

BY

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1926

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Set up and electrotyped. Published September, 1920.

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UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

PREFACE

The rapid introduction during the past ten years of courses in rural sociology in universities, colleges, normal schools and other institutions engaged in the preparation of young men and women for the rural field has prepared the way for a book of readings in this subject that may be used as a text for an introductory course.

Much of the material included in this book has been used with college classes in this institution and with classes of teachers in normal schools and in university summer courses. In the selection of the material it has seemed best to draw upon the writings of men and women whose long experience or professional standing entitles them to speak with some degree of authority.

I have assumed that an introductory course in rural sociology should endeavor: first, to develop a broad, sympathetic understanding of the real needs and actual conditions of farm and community life in the United States; second, to lead students to appreciate the relationship between life and labor, wealth and welfare on the farm, since farming is not only an occupation but also a mode of life; third, to show as concretely as possible the unity of interest of rural and urban groups based on the fact that the farm supplies the city not only with food but also with a large proportion of its population, thus making necessary a sound rural life as the condition for the development of a permanent industrial democracy; fourth, to interest students in taking an active part in the work of those agencies that make for better conditions on American farms and in American rural communition; fifth, to endeavor to prevent students from making that most common of all errors—the undervaluation of the farmer's own judgment of what is best for himself.

Grateful acknowledgment is here made to the authors and publishers for their generous contributions and unfailing courtesy. Their names appear from page to page. My thanks are due to many colleagues and friends for suggestions and criticisms concerning the organization or selection of the material, and to President Kenyon L. Butterfield for his interest and encouragement in its publication. To my wife, Ida Densmore Phelan, I am indebted for assistance in the abridgement of selections, the reading of the proof and the preparation of the index.

John Phelan.

Massachusetts Agricultural College,
Amherst, Massachusetts,
1920.

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SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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CHAPTER I

COUNTRY LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND

FARM LIFE A CENTURY AGO[1]

ETHEL STANWOOD BOLTON

In the old days, when methods of work about the house and farm were prized for their hoary antiquity rather than, as now, for their novelty, and all farmers did as their ancestors had done, there was hardly a man in the New England towns who was not engaged in the pleasant occupation of farming. The storekeeper and the miller plowed, harrowed, and cultivated in the intervals of their other work, and the minister himself hung up his gown after the last service on Sunday, and, like the rest of the community, worked his land on Monday morning. A century ago each town owned a farm, the use of which was allowed the minister, rent free, as a part of his salary.

The struggle in modern times is for the money to buy the necessities of life; then there was less to buy, and each man was dependent on his own exertions to get the necessities themselves from the soil or from the stock which he could afford to keep.

In those days, aside from the work which the miller or the itinerant cobbler performed, each farm was a nearly self-supporting entity, both for food and clothing. In modern times the great English artist, printer, and socialist, William Morris, founded a settlement which tried to be independent of the outside world, growing and making all its own necessities and luxuries. The experiment was no more of a success than Mr. Alcott's similar scheme at Fruitlands, in the town of Harvard.

---

[1] Adapted from a paper read upon several occasions, privately printed.

In our great-grandfathers' time, however, this was no experiment, curious and interesting, but a fact to be reckoned with from day to day throughout their lives.

The village store sold the few luxuries of life—white and brown sugar, salt, West Indian goods, such as molasses and spices, and, most of all, New England rum.

Nearly every town boasted a foundry, where articles were made by hand, which would be far beyond the ability of our modern blacksmith. Here were made the plows and scythes, if the foundry was equipped with a trip hammer; shovels and hoes for outside work, nails for the carpenter, from the great iron spike to the shingle nail. The tools the carpenter used also came from the hands of the local blacksmith. In many country towns, old garrets will yield great chisels, primitive axes, and wrought iron bit-stocks, all made by hand and testifying to the excellence of workmanship by their age and condition. The household utensils, too, were his work, the fire dogs, toasting racks, hobs, iron kettles, skillets, and an endless array of less common things; and all this in addition to the shoeing of horses and oxen.

From 1799 to 1853, without a break, a good man of a Massachusetts town kept a line-a-day diary, and from that I am going to quote, from the four seasons of the year, to show the dull routine of work in which the lives of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers were passed; how it lacked the diversified interests which we consider necessary to our happiness to-day, and yet how little the unrest of modern times enters into any of its spirit.

Take these short sketches of the life of James Parker, known as "Captain James," a young and newly married man in 1806:

"April 1st. I cut Hop-poles at the South End.
2nd. I wrought for Ivory Longley, cart wood. Mr. Edgarton Departed this life.
3d. Fast Day. I and Ruthy (his wife) went to Mr. Harkness (his wife's father). James came home with us.
4th. I and Ruthy went to the Funeral of Mr. Edgarton. Buryed in Mason order. The day was pleasant. A great collection of People.

5th. I split staves, mortised posts. Ruthy went to Groton.
6th. I and Ruthy went to meeting 1/2 the day 1/2 went to funeral of Joel Willard's Child that was drowneded.
7th. I made a Curb to the well. Went to town Meeting.
8th. I partly made a yoak and it stormed."

Later on, in the summer, his work changed, and was that of a tiller of the soil about his business:

"July 28th. I mow'd 1/2 the day, 1/2 plow'd hops. Abner mow'd all day.
29th. I plow'd and how'd hops 1/2 the day. I went and plow'd Abner's Corn. Abner helpt me 1/2 the day.
30th. I sow'd some turnips, it rain'd. I went to Davids (his brother).
31st. I helpt Father plow with my oxen and Vene helpt Drive.
August 1st. I was haying. Abner helpt me 1/2 the day. I carted my N to Capt. Edgarton's.
2nd. I was plowing my stubble, it rain'd and Clowdy.
3. I went to meeting. Esq. Tom (the minister's son) red the Discourse.

And so it is a constant reiteration of plowing, mowing, raking, hoeing, all done by hand or with the slow-paced oxen. How many lessons in patience the farmer learned in those days, and what a dignified ease there was about it all! There were no complaints when the hay was all cut and the weather turned bad, but a calm acceptance. In October preparations for the winter were being made.

"October 1 I began to draw and hew the timber for my hog-pen.
2nd. I drew and hew'd timber for the same Abner helpt me.

3rd. I hew'd timber, Abner helpt me. I dug some potatoes.
4th. I kiled my Bull. Abner helpt me.
5th. I and Ruthy went to meeting 1/2 went to Mr. Harkness's.
6th. I helpt my father 1/2 the day made cider at Capt. Hazen's. 1/2 dug Potatoes at the Pond.
7th. I and Ruthy went to Lancaster. I went to muster.''

A little later, after frost had set in, more animals were killed —cattle, sheep, and pigs—and frozen. The creatures were hung whole in the attic or in some convenient shed, and represented the winter's supply. Apples were dried or turned into cider, for few were kept in barrels for the winter's use, as we now keep them.

Most towns had cider mills in which the neighbors had rights. The mills were usually stone-walled and sometimes were cut into a hillside, like a cellar open in front. Inside was the great press, which was worked by a horse going round and round, harnessed to a great bar overhead. The size of the press is evidence of the universal use of cider.

There is one note which is dominant throughout the diary, and that is one of mutual helpfulness. When haying time came, it was not each man for himself, but all the men of a small neighborhood worked together, and harvested the hay from each farm until it was all well housed. Even then the harvest was slow in comparison with what our modern machinery will accomplish. If any were in trouble, help was immediate and practical. If a man were sick and the burden fell on the woman alone, the cattle were tended and the work done by the neighbors.

Throughout December Captain Parker sledded wood for himself and for others with his pair of oxen, and doubtless got some of the ready money which all men like to have. One entry on Christmas Day, less than ten years later, shows how much our forefathers lacked appreciation of the joys of a holiday. Captain James writes:

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"December 25th. I helpt clean the school-house. The school kept 1/2 the day."

There was one great industry which brought much money to New England towns for many years; that was hop growing. Disease and competition from more Western States finally put an end to one of the great money-making employments of the New England farm of those days. In the middle of one Massachusetts town there can still be seen a field plowed and hilled for the hops that were never planted. Why they were not, no one can tell now, but there the furrows are, in the midst of a great wood, with sixty-year-old pine trees reaching far over your heads, growing in that forsaken field. On many of the farms one can see the old hop kilns in a more or less advanced state of ruin adding their picturesque touch to the landscape.

A hundred years ago the vocation of a husbandman or farmer was as truly a trade to be learned as that of cobbler, miller, blacksmith, or the rest. So young boys were apprenticed to this trade, as to the others. This custom, also, in large measure, solved the problem of help for the farmers of that day. The low wages paid these apprentices for their services gives some explanation of the reasons for the acquisition of a comfortable living by many farmers.

Among the Parker papers in Shirley I found an indenture of about one hundred years ago, which gives a vivid picture of the duties of the apprentice and his master. The father's caution in demanding education "if the said apprentice is capable to learn," shows how meager the learning was in those days among the poorer classes.

"This Indenture Witnesseth, that David Atherton of Shirley in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Yeoman, hath put and placed and by these presents doth put and bind out his son David Atherton Jun^{r}—and the said David Atherton Jun^{r} doth hereby put, place and bind out himself as an Apprentice to James Parker Esq^{r} of Shirley in the County and Commonwealth aforesaid to learn the art or trade of an husbandman; the said David Atherton Jun^{r} after the manner of an Apprentice to dwell with and serve the said James Parker Esq^{r} from the day of the date hereof untill the eighth of January one thousand, eight hundred and twenty four, at which time the said apprentice if he should be living will be twenty one years of age. During which time or term the said apprentice his said master well and faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, and his lawful commands everywhere at all times readily obey, he shall do no damage to his said master, nor wilfully suffer any to be done by others, and if any to his knowledge be intended, he shall give his master seasonable notice thereof. He shall not waste the goods of his said master, nor lend them unlawfully to any; at cards, dice or any unlawful game he shall not play, fornication he shall not commit, nor matrimony contract during the said term; taverns, ale-houses or places of gaming he shall not haunt or frequent; from the service of his said master he shall not absent himself, but in all things and at all times he shall carry himself and behave as a good and faithful Apprentice ought, during the whole time or term aforesaid—and the said James Parker Esq^{r} on his part doth hereby promise, covenant and agree to teach and instruct the said apprentice or cause him to be instructed in the art or trade of husbandman by the best way and means he can, and also to teach and instruct the said apprentice or cause him to be taught and instructed to read and write and cypher to the Rule of Three if said apprentice is capable to learn and shall faithfully find and provide for the said apprentice good and sufficient meat, drink, clothing, lodging and other necessaries fit and convenient for such an apprentice during the term aforesaid, and at the Expiration thereof shall give unto the said apprentice two good suits of wearing apparel, one for Lord's Day and the other for working days and also Eighty Dollars in good curant money of this Commonwealth at the end of said term. In testimony whereof the said parties have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals this sixteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty."

The food of our forefathers has always had a certain enchantment. Who can read of the chicken roasting on the spit before the open fire without wanting a taste; or who can listen to tales of one's grandmother of the great baking of those days without a feeling of longing? In hunting over dry deeds in the Court House in Cambridge, I came across one which interested me very much, as it gave an enlightening touch to the question which to all housekeepers is a most vivid one—the food problem.

In 1823, Hezekiah Patterson, who lived in the eastern part of Shirley, being old and tired of the responsibility of farming, sold his forty-eight acres of land and his house to Thomas Hazen Clark, in exchange for the support of himself and his wife, Jane, for the rest of their lives. They reserved room enough for their horse and its hay in the barn, and room enough in the house for themselves, and then gave an itemized account of what they called "support" for one year.

"6 bushels of rye
6 bushels of indian Corn
1 bbl. white flour
200 lbs. Shoat pork
100 lbs. beef.
1/2 quintal of Cod-fish
60 lbs. of butter
60 lbs. of cheese
2 lbs. of SouChong tea
2 lbs. chocolate
1 lb. Coffee
5 lbs. loaf sugar
30 lbs. of brown sugar
10 gals. New England Rum
1 gal. West Indian Rum
6 gal. Molasses
2 bushels of Salt
1/2 bushel of white beans
15 bushels potatoes
1/2 of all the cider and enough wood for the fire."

This yearly menu hardly suggests variety, but it was at least sweet and substantial.

While the men worked in the fields and tended the cattle, the women had their many duties, too. Their energies were demanded for so many things that a housekeeper in those days need be an expert along many lines. Men in those days ate simple things, and simple cooking, like very simple clothes, must be so much the better intrinsically. The food that is simple must be well seasoned or well cooked to tempt, while a complicated dish disguises its poor cooking by its high seasoning, as a badly cut dress may be made to look well by its many furbelows. Baking in a brick oven was an art. The oven was filled with wood, lighted and burned out, making the bricks of the right degree of heat. Then the oven must be cleaned. At the farthest end were put the beans, followed by the brown bread, Indian pudding, white bread, pies, and cake. They were allowed to stay, and were taken out in the reverse order from that in which I have named them. All other cooking must be done over the coals of a great wood fire, or in a tin kitchen placed on the hearth. We may imagine that the table service in a country farmhouse was not complicated. It was etiquette to eat with the knife, as forks had not come into use. Pewter and old blue iron ware abounded; copper, also, was much used, and must have added color to the kitchen. After the inner man was satisfied, the wife must still clothe her husband, herself, and her children. Cloth could, of course, be bought, but as a rule was far too expensive for anything but a farmer's very best. Homespun was the general wear, and to make homespun the wool had to be taken from their own sheep oftentimes to make their clothes, and all the process after the shearing and washing fell to the woman's share. I believe that there were itinerant tailoresses later on, but of course only the well-to-do could afford such luxuries. The flax, too, had to be spun and woven. Many houses throughout the country still show the old loom room, where the loom stood for generations. Many parts of old looms can still be found, reeds, shuttles, needles, and heddles.

Stockings had to be knit and many endless tasks performed to keep the family warm and dry. Often the man of the family did part of the cobbling of his children's shoes and his own.

Candles must be made for light, and candle dipping was a hard and dirty task. It took skill to make them round and even. Later molds came in fashion and made the task easier and less dirty. Soap had to be made for the family use. These were tasks in addition to the ordinary sweeping, cooking, and housework which every house demands. Floors were scrubbed with soap and sand until they were white—and they were kept so by the thrifty housekeeper.

Nearly every town had a man whose occupation must have been picturesque—the hatter—who made those enormous beaver hats that looked almost like fur, that men wore years ago. It took him a long time to make a hat, and when it was done the owner wore it proportionately long.

We New Englanders are all familiar with the costumes of a hundred years ago. The Shakers still wear them when they dress in their uniform. When Mother Ann Lee founded the order, about 1793, the clothes as you see them now were the ordinary clothes in vogue then. They have never changed the style, unless of late years some of them have grown more worldly and have adopted modern dress. And now, after a hundred years of disuse, the stylish cloak of a former century is again in demand.

And when all the work was done, they gathered around the great fireplace, in the candle-light. The light, even until kerosene came to be used, was very poor, and in those days one read with the paper or book in one hand and the candle in the other, so that it might be moved back and forth before the print. The picture that one has is the coziest in the world, but contemporaries tell us that the reality was often far from the ideal. The great chimneys, with their huge fires, created a draught which brought the outer cold into the room, and fires really warmed but a small area. Yet here, around this kitchen fire, centered all the life of the home, all its comfort and its homeliness.

Life was not all a grind to these good people, for they had their social gatherings, and varied ones, too. First and foremost stood the church with its services, the social center of the town. But when we remember that country towns were nearly isolated from the outer world; that the only travel was by the slow method of stage-coach or private carriage, and was seldom indulged in; it seems natural that the people should have turned to the church, where all were welcome—in fact, where all must go, or be labored with by the minister and deacons. So it came to pass that this was the one thing in which all were interested, in which all had a share. When we remember, too, how large a part religion played in the minds and hearts of our ancestors, it is inevitable that the church should stand as the most important and the unifying factor of their lives.

On Sundays nearly every one went to meeting and stayed all day. No one cooked on Sunday, and all the food for that day was cold. The women were expected to go to church all day, as well as the men, so that the Saturday baking, which tradition still holds many a modern household to regard, was then a matter of urgent need as well as a matter of conscience. The man who had relatives living near the church, or who lived near by, was indeed lucky, because a warm fire at noon might then be his. Otherwise the dinner was carried and eaten in the church in winter, or outside in summer. How many of us would submit to the discomfort of sitting all day in an unheated building, regaling ourselves at noon with cold food, with the thermometer many times in the neighborhood of zero? Yet duty led them and personal comfort did not enter into their consideration. We may hope that the dish of gossip, taken with their dinner, compensated for much which might otherwise have been unbearable. Perhaps this human companionship softened the denunciations and threats of the two sermons. The church, aside from its spiritual teachings, furnished a place in which all the town met once a week. It was more or less political in a broader sense, for there matters of national politics, state politics, and even those of local importance were discussed by the minister. As he was the best educated man, his opinion and its expression very often formed that of the majority of those of the other men in town.

In the church, also, were held the town meetings, with their serious and sometimes humorous debates, which furnished a means of growth and expression to others. It was this training which enabled the colonies to withstand the mother country. Men had learned to think in a logical way, and to express their thoughts. They were keen to find the weak places in an argument and to search out sophistries. When England attempted to cheat their sense of justice, she found a community made up of citizens, not of peasants.

The town was divided into districts; the center of each was the school. Each district met and decided its own educational problems as best suited it; each engaged its own teachers, and disbursed its own share of the school appropriations. Bitter and often sanguinary were the fights over this important question; many and hard were the debates as to whether it should be a ''writing school'' or a ''reading school,'' and how they could make their share of the funds hold out.

These districts also took care of their own roads, and most men, rather than pay their taxes in cash, ''worked out'' their taxes on the roads. So far as one can gather from the records the roads were treated a good deal like a plowed field, and must have been exceedingly poor. They were plowed every spring and heaped up into the middle, with the intention of making a watershed.

The roads were a constant annoyance at all seasons—mud spring and fall, dust in the summer, and drifting snow in winter. Complaint was made in a nearby town that a certain man named Hildreth had put his stone wall so far into the road that the drifting snow made it impassable. The road commissioner warned Hildreth to remove the wall, which he refused to do. So the wall was moved back by those working on the road. Hildreth tore it down in the night and rebuilt it on the former site. The wall was torn down again by the road commissioner, and replaced where it belonged. It was then guarded by men until the town met and voted that Hildreth leave his wall where it should be, and write a letter of apology to the commissioner. All this Hildreth did with a bad grace.

A domestic amusement was a house or barn raising. To this about every one in the town went, the men to do the actual raising, the women and girls to prepare and serve the feast which followed. Their hospitality was generally lavish. To one who has never partaken of the delights which can be baked in a brick oven, the tales of those so blessed seem more or less like those of the ''Arabian Nights.'' A halo, formed of the reminiscences of gay good times and the appetite of youth, is put around these pleasures of a bygone day, making them shine with a preternatural light. And at these raisings, besides the baking and the roast meats, was there not cider and Medford rum to make glad the heart of man?

Funerals and weddings were also legitimate social times, the former to afford the luxury of woe, the latter of unalloyed joy.

Then there were the kitchen dances in the winter, and each man took his turn at entertaining, and showed with pride the good things that his wife could make. The good times, as we look back upon them, seem so simple and wholesome, they were entered into with such a spirit of enthusiasm and expectancy, that it makes one wish that one could now have so whole-hearted a good time from so little. It seems almost as if the hard work and drudgery of daily life gave a fine zest to their amusements.

Later on the Lyceum came to try the sinews of men in debate, came to prove the literary ability of their wives and daughters. They debated on everything under the sun—huge philosophical subjects jostled trivialities; questions of morals, religion, and politics followed discussions of farming and cattle raising. The records of such a Lyceum lie before me. The members began their work by this debate, "Resolved, that a scolding wife is a greater evil than a smoking house." They decided in the affirmative, and then passed to this, "Resolved, that the old man in the story in Webster's spelling book was justified in throwing stones at the boy." They next discussed the morality of giving prizes in the schools. Excitement often waxed high, and personalities were dealt in, but the end of the evening brought calm. It was devoted to the literary efforts of the women of the Lyceum. These consisted of recitations, readings, and original essays.

So our fathers on the farm varied their hard work with fun in much smaller quantities than we enjoy to-day. But in those days the actual struggle was less; a man toiled for his daily bread itself with no competitors but the soil, the weather, and his own temperament. Now a man works at his specialty to outdo his competitors, to get his goods to the market quicker and in better condition, to sell that he may buy, not to grow and tend that he may eat and be warm.

Through all their life there is a note of contentment, and I think that deep in the heart of most modern farmers that same note could be struck. For after all is said, the actual ownership of a large piece of mother earth is a continual source of peace; and the freedom from the oversight and commands of others, to be at no man's beck and call, lends a dignity to the farmer, and enhances his self-respect, until he feels himself and is the equal of any in the land.

A rhyme on an old English pitcher shows that this feeling has been through many, many years the underlying one of the Anglo-Saxon farmers:

Let the mighty and great
Roll in splendor and state,
I envy them not, I declare it.
I eat my own lamb,
My own chicken and ham,
I shear my own sheep and wear it.

I have lawns, I have bowers,
I have fruits, I have flowers,
The lark is my morning charmer;
So you jolly dogs now,
Here's God bless the plow—
Long life and content to the farmer.

INTEMPERANCE IN COLONIAL DAYS[1]

PERCY WELLS BIDWELL

"THE intemperance of the colonial period," says Charles Francis Adams, "is a thing now difficult to realize; and it seems to have pervaded all classes from the clergy to the pauper." We have already remarked the large consumption of cider in the farmers' families and have commented upon the importance of the retail sale of stronger liquors in the business of the country stores and taverns. Every important occasion in home or church life, every rural festivity was utilized as an opportunity for generous indulgence in intoxicants. Neither the haying-season in early summer, nor the hog-killing season at the end of autumn could be successfully managed without the aid of liberal potations of "black-strap" and "stone-wall." Husking bees, house-raisings, training days, and even christenings, burials and ordinations were often disgraced by the drunkenness of participants.

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[1] Adapted from "Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century." Publication of the Connecticut Academy of Social Science, 1916, pp. 374–77.

The craving for stimulants with its disastrous results on the fortunes of individuals and on the general moral tone of the community proceeded partly from the coarse and unvaried diet of the farming population, and probably to a larger extent, from a desire to relieve at least temporarily the dreary monotony of village life. There are always two opposing views current among the older generation concerning the relative virtues of their early days as compared with the conditions which they see about them in their declining years. Some look back to a sort of Golden Age and view all the features of the past through rose-colored spectacles. Others with a more optimistic frame of mind are quite willing to admit that the passage of the years has brought improvement along many lines and do not hesitate to glory in the progress that has been achieved under their eyes during a long life.

There are probably elements of truth in both views, but as far as the general features of social life are concerned and their effect in stimulating or in depressing the individual, the latter view seems to be more in accord with the facts as we know them.

The Rev. Mr. Storrs, in reviewing a pastorate of fifty years in the town of Braintree, Mass., said: "And when it is remembered that fifty years ago, and for many after years, no post office blessed the town, nor public conveyance for letters, papers, or persons, was to be had, even semi-weekly, except through villages two miles distant; that but for the occasional rumbling of a butcher's cart, or a tradesman's wagon, the fall of the hammer on the lap-stone, or the call of the plowman to his refractory team, our streets had well nigh rivaled the graveyard in silence, it can scarcely surprise one, that our knowledge of the outer world was imperfect, nor that general intelligence and enterprise was held at a discount; and if powder, kettle drums, and conch-shells, proclaimed the celebration of a wedding; or if wine, and spirits more dangerous than any from the vasty deep, were imbibed at funerals to quiet the nerves and move the lachrymals of attendants; or if rowdyism and fisticuffs triumphed over law and order on town meeting, muster and election days, . . . it was but the legitimate overflow of combined ignorance and heaven-daring recklessness. Those days are passed and shame throws its thick mantle over them.''

An isolated community always tends toward social degeneration, and the drunkenness, rowdyism, and general coarseness of manners of the inland towns at this time were but premonitions of the more disastrous results which might be expected from economic and social stagnation. At no time in these communities was there a distinct criminal class, of the type now technically known as degenerate; but petty crimes, stealing, assaults and disturbances were of frequent occurrence. There are many indications that the influence of the church was decadent. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical organization had secured, by means of a censorship of the private life of its members so inquisitorial as to seem nowadays intolerable, fairly submissive adherence to a rigid code of morality. With the decline in the authority of the church in matters of doctrine came also a weakening in its control over the conduct of its adherents.

Another cause of laxity in morals, of probably greater importance, was the general spirit of lawlessness spreading over the country after the Revolution, which seems especially to have affected the country districts. The soldiers returning from the war found it hard to settle down and get their living honestly in the previous humdrum routine. They brought back with them new and often vicious habits which the rest of the community imitated. Then, in the interval between the overturn of the regularly constituted colonial authorities and the establishment of the national government under the new federal constitution, there was a period of semi-anarchy, when obedience to any sort of law was difficult to enforce. The disrespect for authority in both church and state which arose from these conditions could not fail to have a distinctly bad influence on the moral conditions in inland towns. In the disturbances of those days the inland farmer was generally to be found on the side of rebellion, and active in opposing a reëstablishment of law and order.

Too much emphasis must not be laid upon the dark features of the community life of these times. Undoubtedly there were many advantages arising from the homogeneous construction of society, from the uniformity of the inhabitants in race, religion and manners and from the absence of class distinctions based on differences in wealth. The inland villages were by no means entirely lacking the opportunities for helpful and stimulating social intercourse; but it was from the home rather than from the community life that the principal virtues of the agricultural population, of which their descendants have been so justly proud, were chiefly derived.

WHAT AWAITS RURAL NEW ENGLAND[1]

THOMAS NIXON CARVER

My most salient impression was that agriculture as an independent industry able in itself to maintain a community does not exist in the hilly parts of New England. Outside of such exceptionally fertile sections as the Connecticut Valley, the farmers engage in such occupations as lumbering and keeping summer-boarders, often carrying on farming merely to supply their own tables with vegetables and their horses and cows with forage. I found few farmers who could secure sufficient revenue even from sales of hay and milk, the most profitable of New England farm products.

These facts, however, do not indicate a decline in agriculture. Farming never was a self-sufficing industry in New England. In the days of so-called prosperity domestic manufactures were carried on in farm-houses. The transfer of manufacturing from the farms to the towns accounts as much for the decline of rural prosperity as anything else—the rise of agriculture in the West, for example. Moreover, the development of farming, dairying, and market gardening near the cities offsets the decline in the remote districts.

Now, domestic manufactures can never be revived in New England, though an attempt is being made to revive them at Deerfield, Mass. Summer boarders cannot support the whole country, nor can lumbering. But, why should not northern New England become a great stock-raising country? The land has become so cheap, and the grazing lands of the far West have become relatively so dear, that New England offers advantages to sheep- and cattle-breeders. One acre of New Hampshire hillside pasture is worth three acres of grazing lands of western Kansas, Colorado or Montana. There is plenty of water, so that one western problem does not exist. Fifty men with whom I talked on my journey agreed that New England is a good cattle country, but no one knew why more cattle are not raised. I believe that the two chief obstacles are: first, the difficulties of providing winter forage, and, second, the small size of the average farm.

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[1] Adapted from *World's Work*, 9; 5748–52, Jan., 1905.

When a man owns a farm of from fifty to one hundred acres, he must plow some of it if he expects to make a living from it, but plowing these steep and rocky hillsides is ruinous, for the rains wash away more fertility than the crops extract. But no farmers' family can live from the produce of so small a farm if it is used only for pasturing. If the farms ran from 400 to 600 acres each, enough stock could be pastured on each one to support in comfort the average farmer's family. There would still remain, however, the question of winter forage, for these hillsides can not even produce hay to advantage—that is, hay-making machinery can not be used. Profitable stock-raising on a farm of this kind would therefore be limited by the amount of level land, relatively free from stones, upon which hay-making machinery could be used.

But there is another possibility. In Europe, wherever stock-breeding has developed on a large scale, cattle are driven from the hills to the valleys in the fall and from the valleys to the hills in the spring. The owners of pasture lands in the hills and mountains buy their stock in the spring, pasture them during the summers, and sell them in the fall to the feeders in the valleys; or the feeders in the valleys drive their stock in the spring to the hills and mountains for summer pasturage and bring them back in the fall to be wintered on the forage grown on the valley land. The next fifty years may see the development of a considerable industry of this kind in New England. Some experiments are already being made. Mr. J. W. Clark, of Wilmot, N. H., was formerly a sheep-rancher in Montana. He recently sold his interests there and returned to New Hampshire to start a sheep-ranch. He has acquired about one thousand acres of the ordinary rocky, hillside pasture land, which, he holds, is much more productive than the Montana land, and about as cheap.

Almost universally, the prosperity of western agriculture and the poverty of New England farming are explained by the difference in the fertility of the soil. Yet this difference is offset in part by the better markets in the East. If a western farmer should try to make a living at ordinary staple farming on so small a farm as the average one in New England, using the primitive New England methods, he would have as hard a time as the New England farmer to make a living. On the other hand, if the New Englander would use as much land as the western farmer, and have modern labor-saving machinery, he would probably be able to make as good a living. A young man wishing to start out as a farmer would do better to invest in New England land than in western land. A good Iowa farm will cost from $75 to $100 an acre; good New England pasture land from $10 to $25 an acre.

New England writers on agriculture have made the mistake of looking to Europe rather than to the West for their models. They have held up as examples to the New England farmers European peasants who cultivate a few acres to a high degree of intensity to yield larger crops *per acre.* But they forget that these mean small crops *per man.* Where labor is cheap and land dear, as in the Netherlands or in the valley of the Po, it is economical to raise crops with much labor and little land. In the United States, where land is cheap and labor dear, the opposite method is better. And it is to be hoped that conditions will never arise in the United States where labor is so cheap and land correspondingly so dear, as in densely populated Europe. Since the price of labor in New England conforms pretty closely to the price in the West, and general social conditions are much the same, prosperous parts of the West ought to be the New England models rather than Europe. With this idea in view, the managers of New England agricultural colleges have begun to draw on the West for teachers.

The nearness of eastern markets, too, is a very appreciable advantage to New England. On the railroads covering the section, run the milk-trains which enter Boston every morning. The farmers along any of these railroads deliver cans of milk

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at the nearest station every morning, and receive the cans there again in the evening, receiving from twenty to thirty cents for each eight-and-one-half-quart can, though Boston consumers pay a considerable advance on that price. A western farmer who could secure such a price would regard himself as opulent. Again, Boston is one of the best apple markets in the country, but the market is supplied largely from New York and Michigan. Yet New England is an excellent apple country. Every year seedling apple-trees grow without planting and flourish without care. Even where grafting is done, it has been the custom to graft only such trees as come up themselves along old stone walls and other such places. Apple-growing, then, is a New England possibility.

In the Connecticut River Valley, where extensive cultivation is possible, the agricultural prospects are very hopeful. I saw many fields of corn which would astonish a Kansas farmer. The census returns show a larger yield of corn per acre in New England than in a great part of the Corn Belt itself. It is grown, however, in small fields highly fertilized and intensively cultivated, whereas the western farmer never even hoes his corn, yet he grows the largest crop *per man* in the world.

On the whole there is every reason to believe that the decline in New England agriculture is at an end. With the practical exhaustion of free public land in the far West, the rise in the price of land in the middle West, and the development of cities for their markets, the consequent rise in the price of agricultural products will give a value to New England farms which they have not had for many years. It is to be hoped, however, that the process of ''abandoning farms'' will continue, if this simply means that several small farms are to be used in one fair-sized farm upon which the farmer can economically use superior draft animals and labor-saving machines; for New England methods of agriculture are fifty years behind the times.

FACTS NEW ENGLAND FACES[1]

From 1860 to 1910, 828 New England towns lost in population 337,086.

From 1860 to 1910, New England's improved farm lands under cultivation decreased from 12,215,771 to 7,112,698 acres, a loss of 42 per cent.

From 1860 to 1909, New England wage-earners increased from 391,836 to 1,101,290, a gain of 359 per cent.

From 1860 to 1909 New England's population increased from 3,110,572 to 6,552,681.

New England is now producing less than 25 per cent. of her food supplies, the other 75 per cent. and over coming from without her borders.

AGRICULTURE IN NEW ENGLAND[2]

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

New England as a whole is distinctively an urban region. While northern New England, comprising Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, has few large cities, populous southern New England, which includes Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, is dominantly urban. For example, the percentage of rural population in Massachusetts is less than ten. Metropolitan Boston, an urban center of perhaps 1,250,000 people, is the great consuming center of the region, and it is supplemented by a large group of important residence and manufacturing cities of lesser size not far away from this center, as well as scattered all over New England. At least 5,000,000 of the 6,000,000 people in New England are consumers rather than producers of food.

New England grows only a fraction of its food supply. Accurate figures are not available, but it has been estimated that probably this region has to purchase at least seventy-five per cent. of its food supply from outside its borders. Furthermore,

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[1] Adapted from "Real Preparedness at its Vital Point—The Food Supply." Published by Hampden County Improvement League, Springfield, Mass.

[2] Adapted from *Breeder's Gazette,* 72: 1154, December, 1917. Chicago.

New England never will grow all its food. Wheat does well enough in New England, but it does not pay to grow it. New England's bread will always be dependent upon outside sources for the supply of flour. Unquestionably the supply of New England-grown meat can be profitably very greatly increased, particularly pork, mutton, and fish. It is quite conceivable that New England will in time supply a very large proportion of these meats from within its own borders. The beef supply can also be increased, but it is doubtful whether any large percentage of the consumptive demand will ever be grown in New England.

It seems reasonable to expect that New England may grow a large share of certain other items among its food needs. It is an ideal region for both orchard and small fruits, and the same is true of most vegetables. Apparently it will be possible, at least from the standpoint of production, for New England to take care of itself in these respects. The same is true of poultry and eggs. The most serious difficulty in New England agriculture is connected with the supply of market milk; we can hardly expect New England to supply its own butter and cheese. New England has excellent meadow lands, probably none better in America. Corn does extremely well in the valleys, with good yields of both stalk and ear. There is an abundance of natural grazing on the hills. It would seem as if New England should be an ideal dairying region. Yet the dairy business for twenty years has been, to an increasing degree, precarious. The zone of market milk supply for the Boston area, for example, has been pushed constantly farther away from the city, so that the largest proportion of the supply comes from a distance of more than seventy-five miles. Some milk is sent to Boston from eastern New York, and before the war a considerable quantity was imported from Canada.

The low price of milk to producers has not met the increasing cost of such grain as apparently cannot be easily grown in New England, nor the high wages for labor, due to the competition of urban industries for the labor supply. The highly centralized methods of milk distributors in some places, and the completely disorganized condition in others, as well as the popular idea that milk is drink and not a food, have also contributed to make the situation extremely difficult for dairymen.

The dairyman himself must have some share in the blame for the situation. There has been very little attempt among the smaller dairymen to improve their herds, or in other ways to reduce production costs for a superior grade of milk. The number of dairy cows is decreasing, dairymen are going out of business, and at present there is no apparent relief in sight, except that under war conditions the price of milk has gone up rapidly, as it has in other parts of the country. But the emergency situation is too uncertain to warrant predicting anything for the future.

This brief survey of the agricultural situation perhaps better than anything else indicates the probable future of New England agriculture after the war, the one factor most uncertain being the great market milk industry.

Some of the hopeful considerations may here be mentioned. There is more to New England agriculture than most people suppose. If a comparison be made between New England agriculture as a unit and that of, say, an average agricultural state of substantially similar area (about 65,000 square miles), I am confident from some study of statistics that New England would not suffer in comparison, if such factors were considered as the total value of farm property, the total value of farm products, and particularly the value of farm products per acre of improved land. In the latter respect, New England probably holds the record for the country.

Moreover, some of the very best farming in America, if not in the world, will be found in New England. The Aroostook potato region has justly achieved world-wide fame, not only for quality of product but for average yield and for intelligent methods of production. The Champlain Valley in Vermont is one of the rich dairy regions of the country. When former Dean Henry of Wisconsin wanted a fruit farm for his son fifteen years ago, out of the fullness of his knowledge of agricultural conditions, he selected a farm in Connecticut, and the results have justified his choice. The large specialist poultry farms of Rhode Island and Cape Cod are models of their kind. The market gardening area about Boston is one of the most intensive agricultural regions in the country. The tobacco and onion growers of the Connecticut Valley are highly skilled; the town of Hatfield has been called the "high-water mark of American agriculture." The average yield of onions per acre in the valley is greater than in any other part of the country. The net return for shade-grown tobacco is sometimes as high as $800 or $1,000 per acre.

Of course, there are abandoned farms in New England, statements to the contrary notwithstanding, and there are also "abandoned farmers." But a very large proportion of the land thus abandoned never could be farmed under modern conditions. When the farm home was self-sustaining these lands answered very well for a combination of vegetable-growing, cattle and sheep husbandry, and lumbering; but they were never adapted to a commercial agriculture, and when commercial agriculture appeared these lands had to be given up for profitable farming. Some of these hill lands can well be used for sheep and goats, some for cattle grazing, some for orcharding, but most of them, let us hope, for intelligent forestry. One thing in favor of New England agriculture is the rainfall, averaging approximately forty-two inches per year, and generally fairly well distributed. The markets are excellent. A good system of highways is rapidly evolving, and the motor truck will undoubtedly play a large part in the marketing of the future. Some day the trolley companies will awaken to the possibilities of a trolley freight service.

Another asset of New England agriculture is the large number of organized agencies working in behalf of agriculture. The Grange is stronger in New England than in any other similar area in the country, with more granges and more members. Within this area, which is about the size of the average state outside of New England, there are six agricultural colleges, six experiment stations and six boards of agriculture. At present New England is far better organized than any other similar area in the United States with respect to farm bureaus, practically every county in the whole region now having a farm bureau or similar organization. Probably more attention is given to country life matters in New England than in any other part of the United States, with many kinds of effort and agencies for the improvement of the home, the school, the health and play life and the moral and religious life of the country people.

As to the specific question, what about New England agriculture after the war? I suppose that what I have thus far said answers the question in the main. We are not to expect revolutionary changes at once, although unquestionably great changes will come as the result of the war. The interest of the people of the cities in the quality and cheapness of their food supply has been aroused as never before. Alongside of this new interest has come the more active participation of representative urban agencies, such as business organizations and women's associations. People have learned their dependence upon the farmer.

The participation by thousands of city and village people, old and young, in the garden work has given a new respect for agriculture, and the toil and rights of farmers. People who heretofore supposed that cabbages came from the grocery now know that they come from the ground. People who had never given a thought to the farmer's difficulties now understand some of the uncertainties of the weather as the farmer has to face them.

The whole problem of food supply in all its aspects has been given a new unity. The production of food, the transportation and distribution of food, and the wise use of food have all been brought together into one common problem, and the rights and obligations of all the different groups particularly interested in this common problem have also been brought together—producers, distributors and consumers. The part which each must play is more clear. The dependence of one group upon the other stands out prominently. The need of close coöperation among them all has been emphasized. The power and possibility of the principles of organization, as applied to the food supply problem, have been demonstrated as never before. What has been done in Massachusetts has probably been done with equal thoroughness in other states. All over the country the food supply problem has been brought to a degree of organization that has often been dreamed of but never before attained. All this has been done by coöperation, not by compulsion. There has never been anything like it in the history of America. All this leads to my last point:

The state and the nation are learning that no man liveth unto himself. They are learning that under a great call old animosities can be buried and new relationships established.

I believe that all these results will be permanent—not completely, but relatively so. I believe that in every one of the results that I have suggested we shall find—after the war closes—a permanent addition to our New England farm life as well as a general gain. Nobody can tell what percentage, so to speak, of each of these gains will carry over, but I am certain that it will be high. It means the writing of an entirely new chapter in New England agriculture.

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CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRY LIFE IN THE WEST

THE MIDDLE WEST—THE FIBER OF THE PEOPLE [1]

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

A HUNDRED years ago the Rev. Timothy Dwight commented complacently on the benefit to Connecticut from the draining away to the frontier—then western New York—of the restless spirits who chafed under the rule of the old families and the Congregational clergy. It never occurred to him that these insurgent spirits were carrying with them to the wilderness a precious energy and initiative.

The unprosperous, the shiftless, and the migratory sought the frontier, to be sure; but the enterprising, too, were attracted by it. The timorous and the cautious stayed and accepted the cramping conditions of an old society; but those who dared take chances, to "place a bet on themselves," were likely to catch the western fever. Among the sons and grandsons of such risk takers, the venturesome tempers cropped out much oftener than among the sons and grandsons of the stay-at-homes. Hence, the strange fact that it was the roomy West that settled the farther West. On each new frontier have swarmed men from what was itself a frontier only a generation earlier.

By the time some impression about the West has sunk deep into the eastern mind, the West has swept onward and falsified it. The Yankee thinks of the Middle West as a land of privation and hardship; it is, in fact, a scene of comfort and plenty. He regards it as peopled by a hodge-podge of aliens, whereas the hodge-podge is at his own door. He looks upon New England as the refuge of the primal American spirit, when, in sooth, Iowa and Kansas are more evenly American in tone than any like population in the East. The Back Bay may think of the Illinois farmer as raising more corn to feed hogs, which he will sell in order to buy more land on which to raise more corn to feed more hogs with which to buy more land, and so on. But the grandson of the man of whom this was said, sends his daughter to college, taxes himself for a public library, and is patron of the local art-loan exhibit.

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[1] Adapted from "Changing America," pp. 145–146 and 137–140. Century Co., 1912.

Nor is the Middle West without its delusions. It imagines it is growing faster than the East, because the drift from the crowd toward the edge of things, and from the wearied land to the virgin soils, has been constant in American history. That the center of population, which has traveled westward at the average rate of fifty miles a decade, should halt or even retreat would be deemed a marvel, like the sun standing still in the vale of Ajalon. Yet that very portent impends. The center, which migrated fifty-eight miles in the seventies, and forty-eight miles in the eighties, shifted only fourteen miles in the nineties. That it then moved on thirty-one miles was due to the rush to the Pacific slope, where one family being at the long arm of the lever, balances half a dozen Slovak families shantied in Pittsburg.

The truth is that the East grew faster than the Middle West through the nineties, and in the last ten years it has been gaining nearly twice as rapidly, having added a quarter to its people while the West was adding a seventh. While in the East one county out of four lost in population, more than two counties out of five in the Middle West showed a decrease. One reason is that the Western farmer resents cramping conditions more strongly, and responds sooner to the lure of fresh acres, than the Eastern farmer. The West it is that peoples the newer West, while the enterprising spirits of the older commonwealths seek their chance in the near cities. A lifetime ago the old Yankee stock was faring overland to settle the wilderness. Today only a sprinkling of the native Americans west of the Great Lakes claim an Eastern state as their birthplace. If in Iowa seventy-one counties out of ninety-nine have gone back in population during the last decade, and an equal number in Missouri, it is assuredly not from bad times, but from the call of cheap land in Texas or the Canadian Northwest.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY[1]

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

THE Atlantic frontier was compounded of fisherman, fur trader, miner, cattle raiser, and farmer. Excepting the fisherman, each type of industry was on the march toward the West, impelled by an irresistible attraction. Each passed in successive waves across the continent. Stand at the Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file—the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer—and the frontier has passed by. Stand at the South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between. The unequal rate of advance compels us to distinguish the frontier into the trader's frontier, the rancher's frontier, or the miner's frontier, and the farmer's frontier. When the mines and the cow pens were still near the fall line, the trader's pack trains were tinkling across the Alleghanies, and the French on the Great Lakes were fortifying their posts, alarmed by the British trader's birch canoe. When the trappers scaled the Rockies the farmer was still near the mouth of the Missouri.

And yet, in spite of the opposition of the interests of the trader and the farmer, the Indian trade pioneered the way for civilization. The buffalo trail became the Indian trail, and this became the trader's "trace"; the trails widened into roads, and the roads into turnpikes, and these in turn were transformed into railroads. The same origin can be shown for the railroads of the South, the Far West, and the Dominion of Canada. The trading posts reached by these trails were on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature; and these trading posts, situated so as to command the water systems of the country, have grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburg, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City.

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[1] Adapted from American Historical Association Report, pp. 199–227, Boston, 1893.

Generally, in all the Western settlements, three classes, like the waves of the ocean, have rolled one after the other. First comes the pioneer, who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation called the "range," and the proceeds of hunting. His implements of agriculture are rude, chiefly of his own make, and his efforts directed mainly to a crop of corn and a "truck patch." The last is a rude garden for growing cabbages, beans, corn for roasting ears, cucumbers and potatoes. A log cabin, and, occasionally, a stable and a corn crib, and a field of a dozen acres, the timber girdled or "deadened," and fenced, are enough for his occupancy. It is quite immaterial whether he ever becomes the owner of the soil. He is the occupant for the time being, pays no rent, and feels as independent as the "lord of the manor." With a horse and a cow, and one or two breeders of swine, he strikes into the woods with his family, and becomes the founder of a new country, or perhaps a state. He builds his cabin, gathers round him a few other families of similar tastes and habits, and occupies until the range is somewhat subdued, and hunting a little precarious, or, which is more frequently the case, till the neighbors crowd around, roads, bridges and fields annoy him, and he lacks elbow room. The preëmption law enables him to dispose of his cabin and corn fields to the next class of emigrants; and, to employ his own figure, he "breaks for high timber," "clears out for the New Purchase" or migrates to Arkansas or Texas, to work the same process over.

The next class of emigrants purchase the lands, add field to field, clear out the roads, throw rough bridges over the streams, put up hewn log houses with glass windows and brick or stone chimneys, occasionally plant orchards, build mills, school houses, court-houses, and exhibit the picture and forms of plain frugal, civilized life.

Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come. The settler is ready to sell out and take advantage of the rise in property, push farther into the interior, and become himself a man of capital and enterprise in turn. The small village rises to a spacious town or city; substantial edifices of brick, extensive fields, orchards, and gardens, colleges and churches are seen. Broadcloth, silks, leghorns, crapes, and all the refinements, luxuries, elegancies, frivolities, and fashions are in vogue. Thus wave after wave is rolling westward; the real El Dorado is still farther on.

A portion of the two first classes remain stationary amidst the general movement, improve their habits and condition, and rise in the scale of society. The writer has traveled much amongst the first class, the real pioneers. He has lived for many years in connection with the second grade; and now the third wave is sweeping over large districts of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Migration has become almost a habit in the West. Hundreds of men can be found, not over fifty years of age, who have settled for the fourth, fifth, or sixth time on a new spot. To sell out and remove only a few hundred miles makes up a portion of the variety of backwoods life and manners.

First, we note that the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people. The coast was preponderantly English, but the later tides of continental immigration flowed across to the free lands. This was the case from the early colonial days. The Scotch-Irish and the Palatine Germans, or ''Pennsylvania Dutch,'' furnished the dominant element in the stock of the colonial frontier. With these people were also the freed indentured servants, or redemptioners, who, at the expiration of their term of service, passed to the frontier. Very generally these redemptioners were of non-English stock. In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own. The advance of the frontier decreased our dependence on England. The coast, particularly of the South, lacked diversified industries, and was dependent on England for the bulk of its supplies. In the South there was even a dependence upon the Northern colonies for articles of food. Before long the frontier created a demand for merchants. As it retreated from the coast it became less and less possible for England to bring her supplies directly to the consumers' wharfs, and carry away staple crops, and staple crops began to give way to diversified agriculture for a time.

The legislation which most developed the powers of the national government, and played the largest part in its activity, was conditioned on the frontier. The growth of nationalism and the evolution of American political institutions were dependent on the advance of the frontier. The pioneer needed the goods of the coast, and so the grand series of internal improvement and railroad legislation began, with potent nationalizing effects. Over internal improvements occurred great debates, in which grave constitutional questions were discussed. Sectional groupings appear in the votes, profoundly significant for the historian. Loose construction increased as the nation marched westward. But the West was not content with bringing the farm to the factory. Under the lead of Clay—"Harry of the West,"—protective tariffs were passed, with the cry of bringing the factory to the farm. The disposition of the public lands was a third important subject of national legislation influenced by the frontier. "No subject," said Henry Clay, "which has presented itself to the present, or perhaps any preceding, Congress, is of greater magnitude than that of the public lands." When we consider the far-reaching effects of the government's land policy upon political, economic, and social aspects of American life, we are disposed to agree with him. But this legislation was framed under frontier influences, and under the lead of western statesmen like Benton and Jackson. Said Senator Scott, of Indiana, in 1841: "I consider the preemption law merely declaratory of the custom of common law of the settlers."

But it was not merely in legislative action that the frontier worked against the sectionalism of the coast. The economic and social characteristics of the frontier worked against sectionalism. The men of the frontier had closer resemblances to the middle region than to either of the other sections. Pennsylvania had been the seed plot of frontier emigration, and, although she passed on her settlers along the Great Valley into the west of Virginia and the Carolinas, yet the industrial society of these southern frontiersmen was always more like that of the Middle region than like that of the tidewater portions of the South, which later came to spread the industrial type throughout the South.

But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. As has been indicated, the frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control. The taxgatherer is viewed as the representative of oppression. Professor Osgood, in an able article, has pointed out that the frontier conditions prevalent in the colonies are important factors in the explanation of the American Revolution, where individual liberty was somewhat confused with the absence of all effective government. The same conditions aid in explaining the difficulty of instituting a strong government in the period of the Confederacy. The frontier individualism has from the beginning promoted democracy.

So long as free land exists, the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power secures political power. But the democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as its benefits. Individualism in America has allowed a laxity in regard to governmental affairs which has rendered possible the spoils system and all the manifest evils that follow from the lack of a highly developed civic spirit.

The most effective efforts of the East to regulate the frontier came through its educational and religious activity, exerted by interstate migration and by organized societies. The New England preacher and the school-teacher left their marks on the West. The dread of western emancipation from New England's political and economic control was paralleled by her fears lest the West cut loose from her religion. Commenting, in 1850, on reports that settlement was rapidly extending northward in Wisconsin, the editor of the *Home Missionary* writes: "We scarcely know whether to rejoice or mourn over this extension of our settlements. While we sympathize in whatever tends to increase the physical resources and prosperity of our country, we cannot forget that with all these dispersions into remote and still remoter corners of the land the supply of the means of grace is becoming relatively less and less." Acting in accordance with such ideas, home missions were established and western colleges were erected. Thus an intellectual stream from New England sources fertilized the West. Other sections sent their missionaries; but the real struggle was between sects. The contest for power and the expansive tendency furnished to the various sects by the existence of a moving frontier must have had important results on the character of religious organizations in the United States. The multiplication of rival churches in the little frontier towns had deep and lasting social effects. The effects of western freedom and newness in producing religious *isms* is noteworthy. Illustrations of this tendency may be seen in the development of the Millerites, Spiritualists, and Mormons of western New York in its frontier days.

To the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil; and, withal, that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom,—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. We are not easily aware of the deep influence of this individualistic way of thinking upon our present conditions. It persists in the midst of a society that has passed away from the conditions that occasioned it. It makes it difficult to secure social regulation of business enterprises that are essentially public, it is a stumbling-block in the way of civil-service reform; it permeates our doctrines of education; but with the passing of the free lands a vast extension of the social tendency may be expected in America.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PIONEER[1]

RAY STANNARD BAKER

THE peopling of the country makes one of the most interesting and significant stories in the history of the nation. For many years it was the unknown land, the land of possibilities and wonders, as well as of danger and death. Therefore it has attracted the hardy pioneer, and here, for lack of any other frontier on the continent, the pioneer, though with the germ of westward ho! still lingering in his blood, has been compelled at last to settle down. I shall not soon forget the sorrowful desert-dweller whom I met in what seemed the ends of the earth in Arizona. His nearest neighbor was fifteen miles away, his post-office twenty-five miles, and yet he was bemoaning the fact that the country was becoming crowded. "If there were any more frontier," he said, "I'd go to it."

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[1] Adapted from "The Great Southwest," *Century*, 64:9, May, 1902. (Copyright by Century Company, 1902.)

It is hardy blood, that of the pioneer, good stock on which to found the development of a country. For years the West has been the lodestone for those adventurous spirits who love the outdoor and exciting life of the mining prospector, the cow-boy, the hunter—a healthy, rugged lot, virtually all pure Americans.

THE PASSING OF THE FRONTIER[1]

JAMES BRYCE

So America, in her swift onward progress, sees, looming on the horizon and now no longer distant, a time of mists and shadows, wherein dangers may lie concealed whose form and magnitude she can scarcely yet conjecture. As she fills up her western regions with inhabitants, she sees the time approach when all the best land, even that which the extension of irrigation has made available, will have been occupied, and when the land now under cultivation will have been so far exhausted as to yield scantier crops even to more expensive culture. Although transportation may also have then become cheaper, the price of food will rise; farms will be less easily obtained and will need more capital to work them with profit; the struggle for existence will become more severe. And while the outlet which the West now provides for the overflow of the great cities will have become less available, the cities will have grown immensely more populous;

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[1] Adapted from "The American Commonwealth, II," New Edition, (1916), p. 913. Macmillan, N. Y.

pauperism, now confined to some six or seven of the greatest, may be more widely spread; and even if wages do not sink work may be less abundant. In fact the chronic evils and problems of old societies and crowded countries, such as we see them to-day in Europe, will have reappeared on this new soil.

THE GREAT SOUTHWEST[1]

RAY STANNARD BAKER

One of the first teachings of the arid land is that the individual must subserve his interest to that of the community, and that is a hard matter for many an American to do. In the East a farmer may settle on his quarter-section, build a home, raise what he pleases or let the weeds grow, keep up his fences or let them fall down, and no one says a word in objection; he is the most independent of men. But in the desert, where the struggle for existence is more intense, men must march in lock-step: if one wastes water, allows water to run out on another's field, does not keep up his ditches, does not coöperate with his neighbors in the work of cleaning or repairing ditches, he injures the entire community, and the community must force him sternly into the line of duty. Moreover, he must join with his neighbors in the protection of the water-supply, in case some other community seeks to divert more than its share from the river above; and in many cases of drought and low water he must suffer equally with his neighbors, sharing what little water there is to be had, even though his own orchards are dying. All this serves to build up such a community spirit in the irrigated countries as the Easterner cannot appreciate. There are human bickerings here as everywhere else, but a man soon learns that the community interest is, after all, greater than that of the individual, and upon every important subject he submits his will to that of the community. From this spirit have arisen those peculiar and powerful coöperative associations of farmers, which all but control the marketing of crops in parts of the West. Instead of trusting to avaricious commission men and engaging in disastrous competition, the orange-growers, the raisin-growers, the bee-keepers, and other classes of farmers, have formed unions and associations which control the whole matter of packing, shipping, and selling the farmers' products. These associations further curtail the rights of the individual, hindering him, for instance, from shipping poor fruit, or poorly packed fruit, lest it injure the reputation of the community in the Eastern markets; and if there are losses, each man must stand his share. So powerful, indeed, are these associations that they can even venture to fight the railroad companies in the matter of freight rates, as they have done more than once in California. Farming in the East is a sort of guerilla warfare, every man for himself; in the arid West, it is a highly organized and disciplined struggle.

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[1] Adapted from *Century*, 64: 369–371, July, 1902.

It is interesting to speculate as to the effect which these new conditions of life will have on the American character. Irrigation requires a greater degree of skill than ordinary agriculture; it is more a matter of exact science, less of chance. The Easterner sows his crops and depends on the will of Heaven for his rain; the Westerner goes out to his head-gate and lets in the rain, in just such amounts and at just such times as he pleases. He knows how much water he is entitled to, and its distribution is a simple matter of calculation. But he must be a careful student of his crops; he cannot water his strawberries and his sugar-beets at the same time and in the same amount, for the strawberries are always thirsty, while the beets require only a few waterings in the season. He must also know his own peculiar climate, for fields require much more water in the desert air of Arizona than in the moister climate of southern California, and he must have a care that the water leaves no alkali in his soil. In other words, he must be an intelligent, reading, scientific farmer if he would outwit the desert and compete with the energy of his neighbors. Men in the irrigated lands live closer together than in the East, and farms are smaller. Some valleys, indeed, seem like villages, each resident of which lives in the midst of handsome grounds; whole districts in southern California are veritable parks for beauty. This brings neighbors closer together, breaks up the deadly isolation of the Middle States farmers, enables a community to have better schools, churches, and places of amusement, tempts the mercurial young man to stay on the farm.

LIFE IN THE CORN BELT[1]

T. N. CARVER

THE average Western farmer is as well informed upon the questions of the day as the average business or professional man of our Eastern cities, though he lacks acquaintance with many things which some regard as essential to culture. He takes a deep interest in politics, and he is better informed about what goes on in our legislative halls than any other class.

The corn belt is probably the most prosperous agricultural region of any considerable size in the world, but success requires great industry and a degree of knowledge that comes only from experience. In the East, especially in New England, where farming is not prosperous and the cities furnish better opportunities for men of capacity, it happens that the best men are drawn from the country to the city, leaving, as a rule, only the less competent to people the country districts. That is why there has been so much discussion during the last year or two over the degeneracy of the farming regions. But in the corn belt the conditions are quite reversed; the best opportunties are furnished by the farms, and one of the most striking facts that one observes on a tour of this kind is the manifest superiority of the average farmer, physically, intellectually, and morally, to the average dweller in the towns of that region. With the exception of the retired farmers, who make up a fair proportion of the population of the country towns and small cities of the West, the bulk of the population seems to be made up of people who are not fit to make good farmers.

Even some of the so-called retired farmers have retired, not because they have accumulated a competence, but because they were unable to make farming pay or because they have found work too hard. They have moved to town, where their wives keep boarders while they loaf around the stores. For this reason there is a sharp distinction made between ''tired'' and ''retired'' farmers. The hotels and livery stables also are generally kept by this class of tired farmers.

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[1] Adapted from *World's Work*, 7: 4232–9, Dec., 1903.

It seems that every line of business carried on in the towns and small cities in the corn belt is largely in the hands of inferior men, though of course there are numerous brilliant exceptions. Almost every town or city will have one or two newspapers, which claim to be the organs of the leading political parties, but which really seem to be published for the purpose of apologizing for their own existence. The manual labor which is done about such towns is almost invariably done by men who are not fit for farm hands. Some are so profane and obscene in their language that a decent farmer would not have them around, but they will work as section hands on the railroad for less wages than farm hands get, and loaf about the depot and the streets at night, play Sunday baseball, and have other similar enjoyments not open to the farm hand. Even a good deal of the mercantile business is carried on by men who do not show a degree of intelligence at all comparable to that of the average farmer.

One hears a great deal of shockingly bad grammar in the corn country, but correct speech is really a matter of conventionality, and a farmer's success does not depend upon his observance of conventionalities. On the other hand, there are certain things which he must know, and which no amount of suavity or grace or good form will enable him to dispense with. He is dealing with nature rather than with men, and nature can not be deluded by a pleasant front nor a smooth tongue. One must not be hasty in forming conclusions as to the farmer's intelligence on the basis of his clothes, his knowledge of the forms of polite society, nor even his use of grammar.

Though the average family is somewhat larger than that of the well-to-do urbanite, there is a manifest decline even in the country districts. Families of four or five children among the native Americans are quite common, but one almost never finds such patriarchal families of ten and twelve children as were common in the days of our grandfathers. The most conspicuous case of this kind that I saw was a family of eight children belonging to an Iowa farmer. The mother, who is still slightly on the sunny side of forty, was a daughter of a well-to-do farmer and had excellent "schooling" for the time and place. She was a country schoolma'am at the age of eighteen, and also gave music lessons to a few children in the community. She spent one year at a small Western college, but was married at the age of twenty-two to a young farmer who was living on a rented farm and whose only capital consisted of a team and farming implements. She has raised or is raising her eight children; they have bought a farm of 160 acres, which is now paid for; they have a comfortable house; and they are just beginning to feel in easy circumstances. The long, hard struggle through which they have gone has in no way embittered their dispositions. They are active in church work; the mother teaches a class in Sunday-school; and the eldest daughter, seventeen years of age, is the organist. The children were unusually bright and healthy, and the mother insists that some way must be found to send them all through college, and I have little doubt that they will succeed. The husband is a hard working man of kindly disposition, but considerably her inferior in mental and social endowments, of which fact, however, both seemed utterly oblivious.

One form of social diversion common throughout the corn belt is what is known as the "basket-meeting." A basket-meeting is nothing more nor less than a regular church service turned into a picnic. Some grove near the country church is selected, and on Saturday afternoon the men gather and erect an outdoor pulpit, with a sufficient number of benches for the congregation, and on the following Sunday, at the regular hour, the church service is held here instead of in the church. After the service the members of the congregation, having come supplied with baskets of provisions, spread them upon the benches and partake of a bountiful dinner.

But such a minor festivity pales into insignificance in comparison with such annual events as the Fourth of July, Old Settlers' Day, and the County Fair, though the latter has sadly degenerated since it fell into the hands of city sports, who make it simply an occasion for horse-racing, accompanied by all the devices for separating a fool from his money which usually surround a circus.

The farmer in the corn belt has his labor problem, too, though I have never heard any one predicting the doom of the corn belt on that ground. The fact is that while the existence of the labor problem is recognized, it is of such minor significance as to be almost negligible. Fortunately for Western agriculture and American society in general, there is no proletariat of agricultural laborers. There are practically no farm laborers of the European type—that is, men who expect always to work for wages as farm hands. The typical farm hand is a young unmarried man, usually the son of a farmer living in the neighborhood—though frequently a foreign immigrant—who ''works out'' for a few years merely to get money enough to begin farming on his own responsibility on a rented farm.

The scarcity of farm labor, however, in no way interferes with the success of corn-growing. In the first place, the corn-grower works with his own hands, and so do the other members of his family. Riding plows and cultivators, disk harrows and corn harvesters, as well as twine binders and hay stackers, so reduce the amount of muscular strength needed that a boy of ten years of age will frequently render almost as much service as a grown man.

Another factor which contributes to the solution of the labor problem is the distribution of the work of the farm over the year. On a typical corn farm there is no season which is preeminently the busy season, unless the corn-plowing has fallen behind because of wet weather. Though farmers with whom I talked universally agreed that corn was by far their most profitable crop, there were very few farms where corn was grown exclusively. With a given labor force, only a certain amount of corn can be cultivated, anyway, and it requires no more labor force to grow a certain amount of other crops in addition. Wheat and oats are sown before corn-planting time, and are harvested after the corn has been ''laid by''—that is, after the plowing is finished. The hay harvest also comes in this interval, and the threshing is usually done before the corn-husking begins. Moreover, the stubble fields can usually be plowed in the interval between the harvesting of the small grain (wheat and oats) and the husking of the corn. Thus the farmer in the corn belt has practically eliminated the labor problem, so that even the limited supply of farm hands is no serious handicap upon the corn-growing industry.

As to the problem of domestic service, there is practically none. Hired girls are almost non-existent. Every farmer's wife expects to do her own work, and if in time of sickness or of special stress of work she can induce some girl from the neighborhood to come in and help her, she considers herself fortunate.

Like other parts of the West, the corn belt was settled by people from a great variety of sources, and has not been without its share of tough communities; but the land was too valuable, and there was too high a premiun on thrift and industry for such communities long to remain.

Everywhere in the corn belt, and indeed wherever farming is prosperous, one meets with the interesting phenomenon of the retired farmer. In general, he is a man considerably past middle age, who has by hard work and careful management become the owner of a fair-sized farm, with perhaps a moderate bank account besides, and who has either sold or rented his farm and moved to town to spend his declining years in rest. From the number of such cases one might almost conclude that the average farmer's idea of paradise was a country town where he could live comfortably, supplying his daily needs without denying himself rest or sleep, and where he would be free from the wear and tear of continually guessing at the weather, caring for his live-stock, battling with weeds and the thousand-and-one other relentless enemies of the farmer. But when he reaches this paradise, unless he has retired on account of old age, he is almost invariably disappointed, if not demoralized. The life soon grows monotonous. Having always been accustomed to an active outdoor life, he becomes restive and discontented. Sometimes he takes up some other line of business—goes into a store, starts a hotel or a livery stable, or goes into the real estate business; and again he sometimes degenerates into an ordinary town loafer. He frequently makes a poor urbanite, for his ideas of living were developed under rural conditions. He is somewhat slow to appreciate the value of good sewage, generally opposes levying taxes for street improvements, and is almost invariably disliked by the merchants because of his parsimonious way of buying goods. The habits of his early life stay with him and dominate all his business transactions. The effect of town life upon the retired farmer is, however, by no means to be compared with its demoralizing effect upon his minor children, especially his boys, if he happens to have any.

As a traveler moves westward, if he keeps his eyes, or rather his ears, open, he becomes more and more impressed at the roughness and even profanity of the language which he hears in public places. This impression, however, is due partly to the fact that the ordinary traveler only sees and hears what goes on about the railway stations, hotel corridors, and similar places, and the class of people who infest such places are by no means representative. When he gets away from beaten lines of travel, out into the rural districts, this impression is by no means so vivid. Nevertheless, it remains, and it is undoubtedly true that there is more rough language in the West than in the East. At the same time, if he takes the trouble to attend country churches and to form some idea of the popular interest in religious matters, he is impressed with the piety of the people. It will usually take him some time to reconcile these two apparently contradictory impressions, but the explanation is that as one moves westward through the agricultural districts he meets fewer and fewer of that class which is so numerous in cities and also in the rural districts of the East, who are neither pious nor wicked—simply indifferent. In other words, it seems that throughout the West, especially beyond the Missouri River, every man is either pious or profane, and the prevailing type of piety is of the Methodistic sort, just as the prevailing type of impiety is of the turbulent, swearing sort.

Politically, the West is rapidly settling down to more fixed habits of thought, though it had its period of unrest. In the early seventies, and again in the early nineties, the Western farmer became the spoiled child of American politics. He has been flattered and cajoled by demagogues until he came to think himself the most important factor in our social system. This position he has now been deprived of by the wage-worker, who is to-day laying the flattering unction to his soul that he is the most important personage in the universe. To be sure, neither the Grange nor the Farmers' Alliance in their wildest days approached in arrogance the labor organizations of the present; nor did they ever, either directly or indirectly, countenance violence or lawlessness of any kind. This is probably due to the fact that the farmers, as a class, are vastly more intelligent and law-abiding than the rank and file of the wage-workers, though they are more numerous and politically more powerful.

The corn belt is the most considerable area in the world where agriculture is uniformly prosperous. This prosperity is, moreover, healthful and natural, and not artificial, like the sugar-beet industry, for example, which has never in any country shown its ability to stand alone unaided by government favors, nor, like much of our manufacturing prosperity, based upon government protection. The people engaged in the corn-growing industry are an independent, progressive class, drawing their sustenance from the soil, and not from other people.

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CHAPTER III

THE OLD SOUTH AND THE NEW

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE OLD AND THE NEW SOUTH[1]

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE

Broadly speaking, no institutions of the South were so profoundly affected by the failure of secession as the social. It is true that it was a great economic revolution to pass from slave labor to free labor, but the ground is still chiefly tilled by the hand of the Negro. The large plantation has been cut up into numerous estates, but the same staples continue to be cultivated. There has been a radical alteration in political conditions, but, on the whole, the representatives of the Southern States in their local legislatures and in the national Congress are drawn from the same general class as they were in times of slavery. The economic and political life of the South has been transformed, but transformed to a degree that falls short of the change that has taken place in its social life; here the change has been complete so far as the rural districts, in which the overwhelming mass of the Southern people reside, are involved. The French Revolution, with its drastic laws touching the ownership of land, did not sweep away the aristocracy of France one-half as thoroughly as the abolition of slavery swept away the old rural aristocracy of the South. The social condition of this part of the Union is now the reverse of what it was before the War of the Secession; then all that was best in the social life of the people was to be found in the country; now all that is best is to be found in the city.

The close of the great war marked the end of a society that had safely passed through all the vicissitudes of several hundred years. The peculiar social life of the Southern States, as a body, in consequence of its being coincident with the very existence of these States, had permeated with its spirit the genius of the Southern people from generation to generation, until it had become the most powerful of all the influences in molding their character and destiny. This social life rested primarily on the system of large plantations. In the early part of the history of the older Southern communities—Virginia and Maryland, for instance—when the plantation system, as it existed before the war, was founded, this system derived its strength, not from slavery, but from indentured white service,—which, however, was not unlike slavery in spirit and influence,—but as time went on, its principal support became the institution of slavery itself. As the number of Negroes increased, which they did very rapidly after the beginning of the seventeenth century both by natural addition and importation, the individual plantation grew larger and larger in order to create room for the employment of superabundant labor. Not even the opening up of new territory could carry off the surplus slaves. The tendency toward the engrossment of the soil in a few hands was just as remarkable in Virginia, the oldest of the Southern States, as it was in Texas and Mississippi among the youngest, and it was just as strong in 1861, when the war began, as it was two hundred years earlier.

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[1] Adapted from "The Rise of the New South," pp. 421–435, Barrie, Philadelphia, 1905.

What did this engrossment of land through so many generations mean from a social point of view? It meant that from 1624, when the plantation system became firmly established in Colonial Virginia, down to 1861, when it prevailed in the most extreme form from one end of the South to the other, there existed a class in every Southern community, whose social preeminence rested as distinctly upon vast landed possessions as the like preëminence of the English aristocracy. The South illustrated anew a fact that had been strikingly illustrated in the history of England: namely that there is something in the ownership of the soil, confined to a comparatively small number, that gives peculiar social distinction to the class possessing it. The social prestige of great landed property was rendered the more impressive in the Southern States by the large retinues of slaves; there was, for that reason, a more baronial importance about such an estate than about the like estate of the English nobleman of the same day, whose dependents and retainers were at liberty, if they chose, to transfer their services to another employer. The slave belonged to the master absolutely; the tie could only be severed by the latter's will. The complete subserviency of the relation gave a certain barbaric aspect to the condition of the great Southern landed proprietor, but the social life which centered in him was on that account not the less truly distinguished.

In possession of a great estate in a comparatively thinly settled country, stocked up with hundreds of slaves, who were in the habit of looking to him for everything in life, the Southern landowner, under the old system, was, naturally enough, remarkable for a proud and aristocratic spirit. This was the general tone which men of his class gave to the highest social life of the South. There were, of course, no legally determined and fixed ranks in that life, but the line of separation was as clearly defined, and as firmly drawn as if the hereditary principle of caste had a distinct recognition, as in France under the ancient monarchy. The opportunities for accumulating large estates by the exercise of great talent for heaping up money were very few. The city shop and the country store of the South were narrow fields of operation for this purpose. The highest rank in society was not receiving unceasing additions in great numbers from the lower, in consequence of success in gathering together fortunes, as has always been the case at the North, where trade has ever been an unfailing means of building up new families. There were, it is true, many accessions in the Southern States, but it required a full generation at least to envelop the intruder in the odor of social sanctity, unless he had secured an exceptional connection by marriage. Pride of ancestry was one of the most powerful of all social influences in the South, and the ability to prove a long and distinguished descent one of the most valued of possessions.

Unlike the society of England, that of the South possessed no common center resembling London to direct general taste and govern fashion.

The social life of every large plantation community was restricted to the bounds of the community; it was the social life of neighborhoods, which might have a radius of as much as twenty miles; in this circuit everywhere in the older States of the South was to be found a social life reflecting a high degree of culture, refinement, and intelligence. The direct effect of the plantation life was to foster all the influences giving strength and permanence to the family. The love of home was increased, not only by long personal association with the spot, but also by traditions running back many generations into the past. Around it gathered the memories of a family life as old, in many cases, as the first settlement of the country. The house in which the planter resided had been erected perhaps a hundred or more years before, and was hallowed by innumerable events in the family history.

The ties of family were strengthened, not only by long transmitted influences of this character, but also by the fact that, under that system, sons, as a rule, settled on lands which had been given them by their fathers in the neighborhood of the paternal estates. In time, there sprang up a community united by the bonds of closest kinship; and as the years passed, and brothers and sisters had children of their own, these bonds were knit more closely together still by the intermarriage of cousins. A whole countryside was frequently descended from the same ancestors, and the most skillful genealogist often found it impossible to follow the ramifications of the common strain. It needed but the law of primogeniture to make the state of Southern society precisely similar in spirit to the society of England in the previous century.

That society was even more given to hospitality than English society in the country. There was practically an unlimited supply of servants; the abundance of provisions of all kinds was inexhaustible; and there was no effort at display imposing expense and inconvenience. The seclusion of the planter's life threw around the visitor an unusual degree of interest; hospitality, at first a pleasure, took on very shortly a sacred character —it became a duty which it was always delightful to perform. The guest, as often a stranger as a kinsman, was rarely absent from the plantation residence.

Below the highest class of planters there was practically only one great class among the whites, a class which the general changes following the war have brought into the greatest prominence, but which, under the system prevailing before 1860, occupied a position of small social importance. The class made up of the small landowners always formed the body of the white population. Its members, as a rule, owned from fifty to two hundred acres of land, which they worked themselves, with the assistance, at the most, of a few slaves.

When the first patents were sued out, it was deemed all-important to take up the most fertile soil as, in the absence of artificial manures, the best fitted for the culture of cotton or tobacco, and such as was least likely to be exhausted by prolonged tillage. The lands preferred were those situated on the rivers and larger streams which furnished an alluvial deposit. The constant aim of the wealthy planter was to engross as extensive an area of these lands as he could acquire; broad reaches of upland were patented or purchased as a means of obtaining wood for fuel and timber for building, and as affording a wide range for the browsing of cattle. The mass of the white population, the true yeomanry of the country, were confined to the ridges and narrow low grounds of the small streams, the soil of which was inferior in productive capacity as compared with the grounds lying around the large streams held by the wealthy planters.

The class of small landowners represented, in many instances, a high degree of thrift, but in some cases an extreme degree of poverty, according to the character of the different holdings. Many of the small estates were cultivated with great care and enabled the owners to live in comfort and abundance. The tables were set forth with a considerable variety of food; there was a slave to furnish the household service; the residence though plain was substantially built and sufficiently spacious; to it were attached small gardens for both flowers and vegetables; also an orchard of fruit trees enclosed as a pen for the hogs; and there were several milch cows, and a horse and vehicle for conveying the family to church. During the week, the owner with his sons and a Negro or two hoed and plowed in his tobacco and corn fields. When the end of the year came, he had perhaps several hundred dollars in his chest. If ambitious of improving his conditions, he expended his savings in the purchase of more land, by which he was enabled to plant cotton or tobacco over a larger area of ground. The increase from one couple of slaves made a considerable addition to his small fortune. Even when he had no occasion himself for the labor of the young Negroes as soon as they were strong enough to work, he could hire them at a profit; many small landowners derived a good income from this letting of slaves who had been trained by them for some mechanical trade.

The landowner whose entire holding consisted of soil on the ridge was by no means so well off as the members of his own class who owned land on the small streams. The expression "po' white," so freely used by the slaves as a term of opprobrium, was applied especially to these inhabitants of the highlands. The narrowness of their fortunes was disclosed in many ways—in the sallowness of their complexions, resulting chiefly from insufficient and unwholesome food—in the raggedness of the clothing—in the bareness and discomfort of their cabins, which were mere hovels with the most slovenly surroundings—and in the thinness and weakness of the few cattle they possessed. Nowhere could there be found a population more wretched in some respects than this section of the Southern whites, the inhabitants of the ridge and pine barrens, men and women who had no interest in the institution of slavery and whose condition of extreme poverty was partly due to the system of large plantations. The abundance of Negroes diminished the calls for the labor of white men, which might have been furnished by this class, and the engrossment of land into great states shut them off from the most productive soil.

The poor white man of energy and intelligence could look forward to but one career which gave him a certain opportunity to improve his condition. He could not hope to get anything but a bare livelihood out of his impoverished acres; the slave mechanics stood in the way of his securing work in any local handicraft, and there were no manufacturing towns where he could obtain a position in a factory; but throughout the South there was a constant need of faithful and resolute overseers. From the point of view of the indigent class of whites, the overseerships were most desirable, not only as indicating a social advance in life, but as offering a very sure prospect of accumulating a competency. This was the beginning of many considerable fortunes in lands and slaves.

The relations of the small landowners with their neighbor, the large planter, were marked by a spirit of kindness, goodwill and esteem. They looked to him as their natural leader. The line of social difference was never crossed, but there was no barrier to the display of the warmest regard in their personal association with him. The society which they formed among themselves was noted for its homely respectability, but was not remarkable for any features of general interest. The simplicity distinguishing the social life of the leading planters took, in the case of that of the lower, the form of extreme plainness. The existence led by this section of the people was one of unusual seclusion; indeed, their only places for general meeting were the churchyard, the courthouse, and the store, while the furthest point to which they traveled was the town in which they found a market for the sale of their cotton or tobacco. Their entire withdrawal from the world produced a marked primitiveness of character which was transmitted from generation to generation.

There were two influences to maintain great pride of spirit in persons of this social rank even when they had to endure extreme poverty. First, they followed the independent life of the plantation; it is true that their estates were small, but they were absolute masters of their own property. Secondly, the presence of the slave, a standing object of social degradation, inspired the plainest white man with a sense of his superiority of race, a conviction tending to strengthen his self-esteem as an individual. These influences gave a prouder tone to the whole social life of the common people of the South than would otherwise have distinguished it. On the other hand, the absence of educational advantages had a considerable effect in sinking this social life below the point which has been reached by the same grade of population elsewhere. Illiteracy, as we have already pointed out, was very prevalent; it was one of the unfortunate results of the old plantation system that it curtailed all educational facilities, by its tendency to reduce the number of inhabitants occupying a given area of country.

Taken as a whole, the common people of the Southern States, during the existence of slavery, were an unusually intelligent, conservative, and sturdy population. The rank and file of the armies of the Confederacy in the War of Secession were chiefly drawn from this class, and surely the world never saw a body of soldiers more distinguished for the qualities that win the respect and admiration of mankind.

The higher planting class of the South staked everything on the issue of the war—their lives, their fortunes, the framework of their social life, their political supremacy, their all. When the more violent influences which the destruction caused by the conflict set in motion had practically finished their work, and this was done in a very few years after the close of the contest, the society in the rural districts of the South was like a vast field of grain over which a reaper had passed, cutting off the heads of the tallest stalks only, while it left practically untouched those of less height. The great planters were, with hardly an exception, ruined in the end, even though they succeeded for a short time in holding on to their estates. But as a body, the small planters, who had few slaves and who were cultivators of their own ground, remained upon as good a footing as they occupied before the War of the Secession began; indeed, the general position of the lower whites of the South to-day is, from an economic point of view, far more advantageous than it was previous to 1860.

This is due to several causes. First, in the breaking up of the large estates, which, as we have seen, were for the most part made up of the most fertile and most eligibly situated lands in the country, the small proprietors, who, before the war, had been confined to the ridges and creek bottoms, were able to purchase ground of the finest quality, because offered for sale in small tracts, without competition on the part of the former great and wealthy proprietors. This class, of old, always overbid the would-be buyers of small means. Many of the richest acres to be found in the Southern States are now owned by such men, who, had slavery been prolonged, would have spent their whole lives in cultivating a poor soil with very small returns.

Secondly, the complete alteration in the economic system of the Southern States has directed the attention of their most enterprising business men to manufactures of all kinds, but especially to the manufacture of cotton. The development of this branch of industry, which, before the war, was carried on in a very limited way, has given employment to many thousands of operatives, drawn entirely from among those persons of the rural population who earned a livelihood by cultivating the ground in small tracts with their own hands. Had slavery not been abolished and the large plantation system destroyed, the manufacturing interests would doubtless have continued to languish; and the opportunities now open in this rapidly expanding department of industry would perhaps never have arisen to improve the condition of the poorer classes of the Southern whites.

Thirdly, during the existence of slavery, it was to the interest of the large landed proprietors, who controlled the industrial affairs of every rural community, to train their own Negroes in the different handicrafts; there were blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, masons, bricklayers, shoemakers, and saddlers connected with all the most extensive plantations, and, with hardly an exception, they were the slaves of the owners. The only white mechanics to be found in those parts of the South where the black population was very numerous were residents of the scattered villages and towns. The Negro under the new system shows in the country a marked distaste for every branch of mechanics, and the handicrafts there have in consequence steadily gravitated to white tradesmen. Thus the poorer class of white persons have a means of earning a livelihood and even a competence, of which they were practically deprived before the abolition of slavery; employment in this department of activity is now afforded to tens of thousands of men of their race where, during the existence of the large plantation, employment was afforded to hundreds only, because in reality almost the entire work in his line was done by slaves.

These are three most important ways in which the old class of small landed proprietors have benefited by the change in the economic system of the Southern States. With increased opportunity for improving their pecuniary standing, it has followed that their general social condition is better than it used to be, but in no social particular as yet has the new order in the Southern rural districts become a satisfactory substitute for that old order which gave the South its social charm under slave institutions. The characteristics of the ruling class of small landowners in the country to-day—which before the war was the class occupying an entirely subordinate social rank—are essentially what they have always been. The prosperity of this class has not been sufficient as yet to allow them to make any real advance in social attractiveness; the life which they lead still removes them from the general currents of the world; they are still the primitive people, as in former times, with social qualities commanding respect, but with none to produce a society so notable as that which passed away. Education is more general, on account of the establishment of free schools; some social advantages are enjoyed, which, under the old system, were beyond the reach of all except the rich, but in its principal features, the social condition of the rural population remains as it was when subordinated to that of the higher planting class during the existence of slavery. How entirely this latter class has vanished and how wholly the country is given over to the former lower rank in society is nowhere more conspicuous than in the rural churches. Owing to the increase of the white population, these churches are more fully attended than they ever were, but the families belonging to the old rural gentry are no longer to be seen there.

A general social equality prevails among the whites in all the rural districts. In the agricultural regions, outside of the towns, there are, as yet, no means of accumulating sufficient fortune to give superiority to new families possessing talent for getting money; the old rural gentry has not been succeeded, even in a comparatively remote degree, by a new gentry which rests its claims to social distinction upon large estates acquired in recent years. In the rural district, all the tendencies are toward a further consolidation of the existing social equality among the whites, because the subdivision of the land means a further progress toward the reduction of the whole number of white inhabitants to the condition of the men who work the soil with their own hands. There are no substantial social distinctions among manual laborers of the same race. The small farmer and the small planter who are making up to an increasing extent every year the entire body of the rural white inhabitants may hold themselves a little above their white assistants who are without property, but there is no real difference in their social level. We see in the South to-day a vast rural white population, which, as a whole, stands upon the same footing, a footing of great respectability, but entirely devoid of those charms which made the social life of the rural gentry, during the existence of slavery, one of the most attractive in the world.

What has become of the descendants of this rural gentry? As a body they are no longer to be found in the country. While many have emigrated to other parts of the Union, the far greater number have settled in the towns of the South. All the influences of the old system, as we have seen, tended directly to the discouragement of the growth of cities; all the currents ran toward a dispersion of the population over an ever widening extent of space. It is now precisely the reverse. The drift toward the subdivision of land signifies a drift toward the concentration of population. The inability of the petty landholders to produce on their own estates the artificial supplies they require, has increased the importance of the local distributing and manufacturing centers, both great and small; the towns have become steadily larger each year, partly in consequence of the rising rural demand for manufactured supplies; while the villages have grown because they have drawn to themselves a greater number of tradesmen working in different departments.

The comparative unprofitableness of agriculture under the present system, unless the land is cultivated by the owner with his own hands, thus cutting the expenses down to the smallest point, prompted the descendants of the old higher planting class to remove to the Southern cities as offering a better opportunity for the improvement of their fortunes. In addition, they expected to find there the best social advantages which the new order afforded.

If we go to some Southern county, which, in times of slavery was the seat of an intelligent, refined, and cultivated gentry, we shall discover that the only society there possessing any distinction is centered in the courthouse town; and this society is generally made up of families of professional men whose names are amongst the most ancient and honorable in the history of their State. The gentry of the South, from having been associated only with life in the country, have become now thoroughly identified with life in the city. The energy and ability that have built up so many Southern towns in so short a time, have been drawn, in largest measure, from a class that, before the War of Secession, visited the city only in winter and looked upon the country as offering all that was highest and most interesting in life to people of birth and culture. In the course of the last quarter of a century many fortunes have been made by representatives of the old rural gentry who have emigrated to the towns, but there has been no disposition in these representatives to return to the life of their ancestors; some have purchased rural estates, but it has been for pleasure and recreation during the summer, and not for occupation throughout the year.

The social life of the South now rests upon the same general foundation as the social life of the North, and as time passes the character of the one will be wholly indistinguishable from the character of the other. The country districts will be occupied exclusively by a great body of small farmers, planters, and their assistants in the field. The whole extent of the soil will become, in less than a century, so subdivided that two or three hundred acres will form the average estate. The owners of the land, by the vast increase in the rural population which will follow this subdivision, will enjoy to a far greater degree than they do at the present time all the advantages springing from a teeming community—a more frequent and more diversified social intercourse, more varied and refined amusements, a larger number of public schools, and a more thoroughly organized and more efficient system of public education. The towns and cities of the South, on the other hand, will become, as they have done in the North, the centers of the greatest accumulations of wealth and the seats of the highest culture and refinement. Here, as in the Northern towns and cities, society will be controlled, to an ever increasing degree, by families whose rise to social prominence has been brought about by the extraordinary talents of the men at their head for building up great fortunes. The influence of mere ancestry going back many generations, perhaps several hundred years, will grow less socially powerful in the Southern centers of population, where the ability to accumulate money already gives the highest personal consideration, just as it does in the like Northern communities to-day. The material spirit will govern the forces in Southern urban society precisely as it has always done in urban society of the North. Indeed, time will only show more clearly that the defeat of the South in the War of Secession meant the complete social unification of the United

States as the inevitable result of the economic unification that followed almost immediately upon the destruction of the institution of slavery.

OUR CAROLINA HIGHLANDERS[1]

E. C. BRANSON

WHAT I shall say or try to say concerns the seventeen Highland counties of North Carolina, and the 243,000 people who dwell in this land-locked area. This is the region and these are the people I best know in our Southern mountain country. I assume to speak for no others.

First of all I want to claim for the whole of North Carolina an identity with our mountain people. They are our very own kith, kin, and kind. They are not a peculiar people—in illiteracy, poverty, degree of isolation, fiery individualism, or organizable qualities. They differ in no essential particular from the democratic mass in North Carolina in mood, humor, temper, and attitudes. Their economic and social problems are not regional; they are state-wide. There are no differences in kind, and few in degree, between the civilization of our hill country and that of the State as a whole. Its virtues and its deficiencies are ours, and I claim them as our own.

Our civilization in North Carolina is primarily rural. Both the strength and the weakness of our democracy lie in this fact. We are saturated with a sense of equality. We stand unabashed in kingly presences. We revel in assured freedom. We have a fierce passion for self-government. We have always held high the spirit of revolt against centralized power, and we have been quick to wrest from tyranny its crown and scepter. All of which is magnificent. But we are learning that untaught and unrestrained individualism needs to develop into the wisdom and power of safe self-government. The civic and social mind supplants the personal and individual view of life all too slowly everywhere.

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[1] Adapted from "Extension Bureau Circular, No. 2," University of North Carolina.

Our dwellers in the open country number 1,700,000, and they average only thirty-nine to the square mile.

The ills attendant upon sparsity of population in rural regions are social isolation and insulation, raucous individualism, illiteracy, suspicion, social aloofness, lack of organization and cooperative enterprise; but our mountain people suffer from these deficiencies not a whit more than the people in definite areas of the tide-water country and in the State at large.

Everywhere in thinly settled country regions we find people here and there who are suspicious, secretive, apathetic, and unapproachable; who live in the eighteenth century and preserve the language, manners, and customs of a past long dead elsewhere, who prefer their primitive, ancient ways, who are ghettoed in the midst of present-day civilization, to borrow a phrase from President Frost. They are the crab-like souls described by Victor Hugo in "Les Miserables," who before advancing light steadily retreat into the fringe of darkness. People like these abound in Clinton and Franklin counties (New York) where an eighth of the native white voters are illiterate, in Aroostook County (Maine) where nearly a fifth of the native white voters cannot read their ballots or write their names; in Windham County (Connecticut), where an eighth of the white males of voting age are illiterate. Windham, by the way, lies midway between the academic effulgence of Yale on the one hand and of Harvard on the other. You can find within the sound of college bells anywhere what we found the other day in a field survey that took us into every home in a mid-state county in North Carolina—a family of whites all illiterate, half the children dead in infancy, and never a doctor in the house in the whole history of the family.

All the ages of race history and every level of civilization can be found in any county or community, even in our crowded centers of wealth and culture. We need not hunt for eighteenth century survivals in mountain coves alone.

We shall not make headway in well-meant work in the mountains unless we can bring to it what Giddings calls a consciousness of kind. We need to be less aware of picturesque, amusing, or distressing differences, and more keenly conscious of the kinship of the mountain people with their kind elsewhere and everywhere. Otherwise we shall bring to noble effort in the mountains a certain disabling attitude that is fatal to success.

And so over against the types we find in the pages of Craddock, Fox, Kephart, and the rest, let us set the mountain people as they are related to the civilization of which they are a part. I therefore urge upon your attention the fact that they are not more poverty-stricken, nor more lawless and violent, nor more unorganizable than the democratic mass in rural North Carolina.

1. In the first place and quite contrary to popular notions, our mountains are not a region of wide-spread poverty. In per capita rural wealth Alleghany is the richest county in North Carolina. Among our 100 counties, five highland counties rank 1st, 5th, 6th, 13th, and 14th in the order named, in the per capita farm wealth of country populations; and two more are just below the state average in this particular. The people of these counties are not poor, as country wealth is reckoned in North Carolina. They dwell in a land of vegetables and fruits, grain crops, hay and forage, flocks and herds. It is a land of overflowing abundance. It is not easy for such people to feel that they are fit subjects for missionary school enterprises. As a matter of fact, they need our money far less than they need appreciative understanding and homebred leadership. Their wealth is greater than their willingness to convert it into social advantages. They need to be shown how to realize the possibilities of their own soils and souls. Mountain civilization, like every other, will rise to higher levels when the people themselves tug at their own boot-straps; and there is no other way.

Approaching the poverty of our mountain people from another angle, let us consider indoor pauperism in 11 mountain counties that maintain county homes or poor houses. The 1910 Census discloses an average rate for the United States of 190 almshouse paupers per 100,000 inhabitants. In North Carolina the rate was 96; in these 11 highland counties it was only 79. Six of the mountain counties make a far better showing than the State at large.

But we may make still another and better approach to the subject of poverty in our mountains by examining the outside pauper rates; better, because outside help is less repugnant to the feelings than residence in the poor house. In 1914 the state rate for outside pauperism was 234 per 100,000 inhabitants. In 12 highland counties the average rate was 205. Seven of the counties have rates far smaller than the state average, ranging from 35 in Mitchell to 184 in Cherokee; three are just below the state average; and only two are near the bottom.

It ought to be clear that poverty in the mountains of North Carolina is actually and relatively less than elsewhere in the State. Here both indoor and outside paupers in 12 counties in 1914 numbered only 559 in a population of 209,000 souls.

2. In the second place, illiteracy among native whites in our mountains is not more distressing than white illiteracy elsewhere in the State. The average rate for the mountain region is 15.1 per cent., due to excessive white illiteracy rates in eight counties. More than one-seventh or 15.1 per cent. of all the white people ten years old and older in 17 mountain counties are illiterate. It is appalling; but the fact that nearly one-eighth of all the white people of these ages the whole State over are illiterate is also appalling. But nearly one-fifth or 18.5 per cent. of all our people, both races counted, are illiterate; and this fact is still more appalling. There is comfort, however, in the further fact that with a single exception North Carolina led the Union in inroads upon illiteracy during the last census period, and we are running Kentucky a close second in Moonlight Schools.

Our mountain people are not peculiar, even in their illiteracy. Sparsely settled rural people are everywhere apt to be fiercely individualistic, incapable of concerted effort, and unduly illiterate; both behind and beyond mountain walls, in New York State, Maine, Connecticut, and North Carolina alike. The problems of developing democracy in our highlands, I repeat, are state-wide, not merely regional. They concern a sparsely settled rural population, socially insulated, fiercely individualistic, unduly illiterate, unorganized, and non-social, both in the mountains and in the State at large.

3. For instance, the bad eminence held by North Carolina in homicide rates among the 24 states of the registration area is due to the slow socialization of a population that is still nearly four-fifths rural. In 1913, we led the registration states with an urban rate of 274 homicides per million inhabitants, and a rural

rate of 173, against a general rate of 72 in the registration area. I may say in passing that Virginia, Kentucky, and North Carolina are the only southern states in the registration area, and that 24 states are all told still on the outside.

Town rates are higher than country rates in twenty-one states, largely because the steady cityward drift of country people introduces into the organized life of American towns an element that is slow to learn the lessons of social adjustment. On the other hand, the high spirited retreat into inaccessible coves before advancing civilization. They climb into the high levels of the Great Smokies in Haywood, Swain, and Graham, where they settle personal difficulties in the highland style of primitive times. These counties lead the mountain region in homicide rates. These are the people, by the way, among whom Kephart dwelt and who colored his impressions of our entire mountain civilization. But just as might be expected, three of our lowland counties have just as fearful records. No, our Highlanders are not peculiar even in their fierce and fiery individualism. Human life is just as safe west of the Ridge as east of it.

4. Kephart urges that the mountain people cannot pull together, except as kinsmen or partisans. ''Speak to them of community interests, try to show them the advantages of coöperation,'' says he, ''and you might just as well be proffering advice to the North Star. They will not work together zealously even to improve their neighborhood roads.'' But these are the faults of sparsely settled rural populations in the mountains and on the plains alike. Nothing could be worse, for instance, than the country roads of southern Illinois in the bad winter seasons. Failure to organize and coöperate is the cardinal weakness of country people everywhere.

True, there were no improved country roads in four counties west of the Ridge on January 1, 1915; but also, four neighboring counties in the Albemarle country fall into the same category. Thirty-one of our counties in 1914 had ten per cent. or less of their public road mileage improved. Seven of these were west and twenty-four were east of the Blue Ridge. Five mountain counties are among the forty counties that made the best showing in the State in improved public road mileage in 1914. Avery, a mountain county with no improved roads in the last report, is now spending $150,000 in road construction. Our mountain counties are falling into line about as rapidly as other sections of the State. And North Carolina is doing well in highway building. In 1914 she stood ahead of twenty-nine states in per cent. of surfaced roads, and outranked thirty-two in the expenditure of road funds locally raised.

5. As a last word in my attempt to show that our mountain conditions and problems are state-wide conditions and problems, let us consider the investment made by our Highlanders in their schools and children; say, their per capita investment in country school property in the census year. In 1910 it was only $1.86 per rural inhabitant. But then, it was only $2.08 the whole State over. Seven mountain counties were well above the state average with per capita investments ranging from $2.56 in Swain, one of the three poorest counties in the State, to $4.56 in Transylvania.

Our mountain counties are moving forward in rural school property about as rapidly as the rest of the State. Between 1900 and 1914 the value of such property in seventeen highland counties rose from $408,000 to $637,000, an increase of 56 per cent., against an increase of 45 per cent. in the State at large. Ashe and Yancey more than doubled their investments in rural school property during these four years. In Cherokee the investment was more than trebled. And it is proper to add that under the superb leadership of Hon. J. Y. Joyner, the State School Superintendent, our State as a whole has made marvelous gains during the last ten years in the education of all our people. As a matter of fact, these gains make a story of unparalleled achievement.

The mountain people I know are democratic by nature, high spirited, self-reliant, and proudly independent. They scorn charities, and scent patronage afar. They are not a weakling people. They are sturdy and strong in character, keenly responsive to fair treatment, kind hearted and loyal to friends, quick to lend help in distress; and salted unto salvation by a keen sense of humor.

They are not a submerged race. They are not down and out, after a hand to hand struggle with advancing civilization. They are not victims of social mal-adjustment. They are, as yet, the unadjusted. They are not decadents like the country people in the densely populated industrial areas of the North and East. They are a coming, not a vanishing race. Their thews and sinews are strong, their brains are nimble and capable, and at bottom they are sane and sound, healthsome and wholesome, in wind and limb, body and soul. They are a hopeful element in developing democracy in North Carolina. There is immense lifting power in the people of our hill country. They need, to be sure, to be organized for economic, civic, and social efficiency; but this need is state-wide, not merely regional.

The Highlanders have long been a segregated, unmixed ethnic group—a homogeneous mass without organic unity. Miss Emma Miles, herself a mountaineer, says in "The Spirit of the Mountains," "There is no such thing as a community of mountaineers. Our people are almost incapable of concerted action. We are a people yet asleep, a race without consciousness of its own existence." All of which means that here is a social mass that lacks social solidarity. It lacks the unity in variety and the variety in unity that social development demands in any group of people.

A fundamental need in the mountains is an influx of new people with new ideas and enterprises. The homogeneity of our Highlanders has long been a liability, not an asset. Appalachia needs the mingling of race types. The English Midlands offer an illustration in point. Here is where the Cymric, Pictish, and Irish tribes of Celts struggled for long centuries with the Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Scandinavians. Here they finally coalesced, and here is the seed-bed of national supremacy in intellect. Here is the England of Shakespeare, Macaulay, Ruskin, and George Eliot, Hogarth, Turner and Burne-Jones, Watt, Hamilton, and Farraday.

But a new era is at hand in our hill country. Industrialism is rapidly invading and occupying this region. The timber, mineral, and water power treasures of the mountains have at last challenged the attention of organized big business. The blare of steam whistles, the boom of dynamite, the whir of machinery, the miracle of electric lights and telephones, the bustle of business in growing cities announce an economic revolution in our mountain country. Industrial enterprises will introduce the needed elements of population. They demand railway connections with the outside world. Automobiles in increasing numbers demand improved public highways. This economic revolution will mean better schools, stronger newspapers, another type of religious consciousness, and a more liberal social life. The industrial transformation of Appalachia has begun, and the next generation of Highlanders will be well in the middle of this new era.

We ought to keep clearly in mind a concern of primary importance to the mountain people. The question, says President Frost, is whether the mountain people can be enlightened and guided so that they can have a part in the development of their own country, or whether they must give place to aliens and melt away like the Indians of an earlier day.

That is to say, both the church and the school problems are fundamentally economic and social. The highest values, of course, are spiritual. As invading industrialism turns into gold the natural resources of these mountains, will it enhance the value of their largest asset—the men and women of the hill country?

THE RURAL NEGRO AND THE SOUTH[1]

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Of the nine million Negroes, or nearly that number, in the South, about seven million are in the rural districts. They are on the farm, the plantation, and in the small town. They include 80 per cent. of the whole Negro population in the South, the great bulk of the Negro population in America, in fact. Of this seven million it is safe to say that 2,200,000 persons are actually working, either as hired hands, tenant farmers, croppers, or renters and independent owners, upon the land. This number includes women and children, for, on the farm and the plantation, the unit of labor is not the individual but the family, and in the South to-day Negro women still do a large part of the work in the fields.

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[1] Adapted from "Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections," Memphis, Tenn., May, 1914, pp. 121–127.

People who live in the cotton growing States know that a very large part of the business of those states is based on the Negro and the mule.

In the South, when a planter wants to borrow money, he finds his credit at the bank is usually determined by the number of reliable Negro tenants he can control; business is based on labor. In other words, the value of the land and of all that goes with it and depends upon it, is determined very largely, more largely, perhaps, than is true of any other part of the country, by the character and quantity of the labor supply.

The two million and more Negroes who are employed in agriculture in the Southern States have in their hands, either as renters or as owners, 40 per cent. of the tillable land. Something like 100,000,000 of the 150,000,000 acres of improved land is cultivated by Negro labor, and of every eleven bales of cotton produced in the South, seven are raised by Negroes.

The Negro is here and he is likely to remain. First, because after something like three hundred years he has adapted himself to the country and the people; because experience has taught him that, on the whole, the vast majority of the Negroes are more at home and better off in the agricultural regions of the South than they are likely to be in any other part of the world; and finally because the Southern white man does not want him to go away. You may say what you please about segregation of the races, but when there is work to be done about the plantation, when it comes time to plant and pick the cotton, the white man does not want the Negro so far away that he cannot reach him by the sound of his voice.

At the present time Negroes in the rural districts represent, in some respects, the best portion of the Negro race. They are for the most part a vigorous, wholesome, simple-minded people. They are, as yet, almost untouched by the vices of city life, and still maintain, on the whole, their confidence in the good will of the white people by whom they are surrounded.

These seven million people represent, therefore, tremendous possibilities for good and for evil to themselves, and the community in which they live. From an economic view alone, this large actual and potential labor force represents a vast store of undeveloped wealth, a gold mine of productive energy, in fact.

Imported to this country at an enormous cost in suffering and in money; trained and disciplined during two hundred and fifty years of slavery, and now waiting to be developed, under the influences of free institutions, the Negro is one of the great natural resources of this southern community. This being so, the prosperity of the South is very largely bound up with the latent possibilities of the Negro. Just in proportion as he becomes an efficient farmer and a dependable laborer, just to that extent will the whole country move forward and prosperity be multiplied.

If Negro labor is to become more efficient, every effort should be made to encourage rather than to discourage the Negro in his ambition to go forward, to buy land and plant himself permanently on the soil. In the long run the planter will not suffer from the existence in his neighborhood of Negro farmers who offer an example of thrift and industry to their neighbors. For example, Macon County, in which I live, was the only one of the Black Belt counties of Alabama which showed an increase of Negro population in the decade from 1900 to 1910. The reason was that a special effort had been made in that county to improve the public schools and this brought into the county a large number of progressive farmers who were anxious to own homes in the neighborhood of a good school.

G. W. McLeod, who owns a large tract of land in Macon County, Alabama, is a good example of the white planter who treats his tenants well. Mr. McLeod believes in having a good school in the community, so he gave an acre of ground upon which the school house was built and $100 in addition to help put up the $700 school house. He deeded the land to a set of colored trustees. Mr. McLeod also offers annual prizes for the best kept stock, best kept houses, best cared for children, best attendance at Sunday school and church. The man or woman guilty of taking intoxicating liquors or engaging in family quarrels is not eligible to prizes and must go at the end of the year.

Mr. McLeod by this method of dealing with his tenants has little if any trouble in finding profitable tenants for his lands. Not only does he find that this policy pays in cash, but he has the satisfaction of seeing around him people who are prosperous and contented, who are every year making progress, who are growing in intelligence, ambition and the knowledge of all those things which make life worth living.

From direct investigation I find that many valuable colored laborers leave the farm for the reason that they seldom see or handle cash. The Negro laborer likes to put his hands on real money as often as possible. In the city, while he is not so well off in the long run, as I have said, he is usually paid off in cash every Saturday night. In the country he seldom gets cash oftener than once a month, or once a year. Not a few of the best colored laborers leave the farms because of the poor houses furnished by the owners. The condition of some of the one-room cabins is miserable almost beyond description. In the towns and cities, while he may have a harder time in other respects, the colored man can usually find a reasonably comfortable house with two or three rooms.

No matter how ignorant a colored man may be himself, he almost always wants his children to have education. A very large number of colored laborers leave the farm because they can not get an education for their children. In a large section of the farming district of the South, Negro schools run only from two to five months in the year. In many cases children have to walk miles to reach these schools. The school houses are, in most cases, wretched little hovels with no light or warmth or comfort of any kind. The teacher receives perhaps not more than $18 or $25 a month, and as every school superintendent knows, poor pay means a poor teacher.

In saying this, I do not overlook the fact that conditions are changing for the better in all parts of the South. White people are manifesting more interest each year in the training of colored people, and what is equally important, colored people are beginning to learn to use their education in sensible ways; they are learning that it is no disgrace for an educated person to work on the farm. They are learning that education which does not somehow touch life is not education at all. More and more we are all learning that the school is not simply a place where boys and girls learn to read and cipher; but a place where they learn to live. We are all learning that education which does not somehow or other improve the farm and the home, which does not make a return to the community in some form or other, has no justification for its existence.

The possibilities of the Negro farmer are indicated by the progress that he has made in fifty years. In 1863 there were in all the United States only a few farms owned by Negroes. They now (1910) operate in the South 890,140 farms which are 217,800 more than there were in this section in 1863.

Negro farm laborers and Negro farmers in the South now cultivate approximately 100,000,000 acres of land, of which 42,500,000 acres are under the control of Negro farmers. The increase of Negro farm owners in the past fifty years compares favorably with the increase of white farm owners. The Negroes of this country now own 20,000,000 acres or 31,000 square miles of land. If all the land they own were placed in one body, its area would be greater than that of the state of South Carolina.

The Negro has made his greatest progress in agriculture during the past ten years. From 1900 to 1910 the total value of farm property owned by the colored farmers of the South increased from $177,404,688 to $492,898,218, or 177 per cent.

In view of all this it seems to me that it is the part of wisdom to take hold of this problem in a broad, statesmanlike way. Instead of striving to keep the Negro down, we should devote the time and money and effort that is now used for the purpose of punishing the Negro for crimes,—committed in many instances because he has been neglected and allowed to grow up in ignorance without ambition and without hope—and use it for the purpose of making the Negro a better and more useful citizen.

FOLLOWING THE COLOR LINE[1]

RAY STANNARD BAKER

GENERALLY speaking, the sharpest race prejudice in the South is exhibited by the poorer class of white people, whether farmers, artisans or unskilled workers, who come into active competition with the Negroes, or from politicians who are seeking the votes of this class of people. It is this element which has driven the Negroes out of more than one community in the South and it commonly forms the lynching mobs. A similar antagonism of the working classes exists in the North wherever the Negro has appeared in large numbers.

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[1] Adapted from "Following the Color Line," *American Magazine*, 64: 381–393, July, 1907.

On the other hand, the larger land owners and employers of the South, and all professional and business men who hire servants, while they dislike and fear the Negro as a race (though often loving and protecting individual Negroes), want the black man to work for them. More than that, they must have him: for he has a practical monopoly on labor in the South. White men of the employing class will do almost anything to keep the Negro on the land and his wife in the kitchen—so long as they are obedient and unambitious workers.

But I had not been very long in the black belt before I began to see that the large planters—the big employers of labor—often pursued very different methods in dealing with the Negro. In the feudal Middle Ages there were good and bad barons; so in the South to-day there are "good" and "bad" landlords (for lack of better designation) and every gradation between them.

The good landlord, generally speaking, is the one who knows by inheritance how a feudal system should be operated. In other words, he is the old slave-owner or his descendant, who not only feels the ancient responsibility of slavery times, but believes that the good treatment of tenants, as a policy, will produce better results than harshness and force.

The bad landlord represents the degeneration of the feudal system: he is in farming to make all he can out of it this year and next, without reference to human life.

Conditions in the black belt are in one respect much as they were in slavery times, or as they would be under any feudal system: if the master or lord is "good," the Negro prospers; if he is harsh, grasping, unkind, the Negro suffers bitterly. It gets back finally to the white man. In assuming supreme rights in the South, political and industrial, the white man also assumes tremendous duties and responsibilities; he cannot have the one without the other; and he takes to himself the pain and suffering which goes with power and responsibility.

Of course, scarcity of labor and high wages have given the really ambitious and industrious Negro his opportunity, and many thousands of them are becoming more and more independent of the favor or the ill-will of the whites. And therein lies a profound danger, not only to the Negro, but to the South. Gradually losing the support and advice of the best type of white man, the independent Negro finds himself in competition with the poorer types of white man, whose jealousy he must meet. He takes the penalties of being really free. Escaping the exactions of a feudal life, he finds he must meet the sharper difficulties of a free industrial system. And being without the political rights of his poor white competitor and wholly without social recognition, discredited by the bestial crimes of the lower class of his own race, he has, indeed, a hard struggle before him. In many neighborhoods he is peculiarly at the mercy of this lower class white electorate, and the self-seeking politicians whose stock in trade consists in playing upon the passions of race-hatred.

When the Negro tenant takes up land or hires out to the landlord, he ordinarily signs a contract, or if he cannot sign (about half the Negro tenants of the black belt are wholly illiterate) he makes his mark. He often has no way of knowing certainly what is in the contract, though the arrangement is usually clearly understood, and he must depend on the landlord to keep both the rent and the supply-store accounts. In other words, he is wholly at the planter's mercy—a temptation as dangerous for the landlord as the possibilities which it presents are for the tenant. It is so easy to make large profits by charging immense interest percentages or outrageous prices for supplies to tenants who are too ignorant or too weak to protect themselves, that the stories of the oppressive landlord in the South are scarcely surprising. It is easy, when the tenant brings in his cotton in the fall not only to underweigh it, but to credit it at the lowest prices of the week; and this dealing of the strong with the weak is not Southern, it is human. Such a system has encouraged dishonesty, and wastefulness; it has made many landlords cruel and greedy, it has increased the helplessness, hopelessness and shiftlessness of the Negro. In many cases it has meant downright degeneration, not only to the Negro, but to the white man. These are strong words, but no one can travel in the black belt without seeing enough to convince him of the terrible consequences growing out of these relationships.

I made inquiries as to why the Negroes wanted to leave the farms and go to cities. The answer I got from all sorts of sources was, first, the lack of schooling in the country; and, second, the lack of protection.

And I heard also many stories of ill-treatment of various sorts, the distrust of the tenant of the landlord in keeping his accounts—all of which, dimly recognized, tends to make many Negroes escape the country, if they can. Indeed, it is growing harder and harder on the great plantations, especially where the management is by overseers, to keep a sufficient labor supply. In some places the white landlords have begun to break up their plantations, selling small farms to ambitious Negroes—a significant sign, indeed, of the passing of the feudal system. Commenting on this tendency, the *Thomaston Post* says:

"This is, in part, a solution of the so-called Negro problem, for those of the race who have property interests at stake cannot afford to antagonize their white neighbors or transgress the laws. The ownership of land tends to make them better citizens in every way, more thoughtful of the rights of others, and more ambitious for their own advancement. The tendency towards cutting up the large plantations is beginning to show itself, and when all of them are so divided, there will be no agricultural labor problem, except, perhaps, in the gathering of an especially large crop."

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CHAPTER IV

THE IMMIGRANT IN AGRICULTURE

IMMIGRATION IN AGRICULTURE[1]

JOHN OLSEN

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the United States found itself in possession of vast undeveloped resources, which were tremendously increased by successful purchases and annexations in the course of the century. To secure the rapid development of these resources the government not only threw them open to unrestricted development by private enterprise but even encouraged such development by public assistance. As a result of such a policy public lands of apparently unlimited extent and enormous fertility were offered to any one at a nominal expense. Later the land acts were multiplied so that any individual could obtain 480 acres of virgin territory. Furthermore this policy of encouraging private enterprise led to the extension of the means of communication so that these not only accompanied but in many cases preceded the growth of the settlement. Thus access to the splendid public demesne was assured.

The temptation to enter premises so promising could not be suppressed by the unfavorable attitude at first assumed by foreign governments. Consequently a steady stream of immigrants commenced flowing into this country. Even though separated by political boundaries the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish still felt that the states were peculiarly their own. Soon the wanderlust of the Germans, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Norwegians led them to the same destination. There were also some Swiss and Dutch and a few from southern and eastern Europe in this first wave which we shall designate the Old Immigration.

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[1] Adapted from a paper prepared by a graduate student in the Editor's Class in the University of Minnesota, summer 1917.

Of the motives which actuated this immigration, the religious and political, which had been very important, were rapidly diminishing in influence. In general, hard times in their own country due to crop failures and fluctuations in industry preceded the great waves of emigrants. This statement applies principally to Ireland and Scandinavia although there were serious crop failures in Germany, for example the one in Baden in 1825. The famines in Ireland, however, surpassed all. The first one occurred in 1826. Far more serious was the one due to potato rot in 1846–7. As a result emigration and death reduced the population 50 per cent.

At the same time the general prosperity, which, with the exception of brief periods designated as panics, continued uninterruptedly throughout the century in this country, presented an attractive antithesis. The liberality of our land laws invited any foreigner to become a partaker of our prosperity since they afforded him the opportunity either of securing a farm of his own or of employment at good wages. The tariff, the invention of new machinery, and the rapid development of new industries were auxiliary forces tending at least temporarily to the betterment of the conditions of the laborers. The increasing facilities of communication enabled the foreigner to compare the opportunities of the New World with those of the Old. Advertising campaigns by the states and especially by private enterprises, such as steamship companies, railways, and other American industrial organizations, which previous to the passage of the Anti-Contract Immigration Law were absolutely unrestricted, tended to create a favorable impression. Most influential of all were letters from countrymen already in America.

Of course there were also a number of other auxiliary causes. Such were the improved facilities of reaching our country, the financial assistance which foreigners settled here could render in enabling relatives to come, and the dread caused by wars and epidemics in the densely populated communities of Europe. Back of all these, however, lay the prime psychological instinct which has been back of all Teutonic migrations in historical times, the desire for adventure—the Teutonic wanderlust.

Of these immigrants a relatively large percentage engaged in agriculture. Of the total number of males of foreign origin about 30 per cent. belong to the English-speaking races. They are distributed fairly equitably throughout the North Central, Eastern, and Western states although their main strength is in the first group. This distribution is also true of the Germans. They are the most important people belonging to this group, including 775,175 males or 28 per cent. out of a total of 2,105,766. In direct contrast are the Scandinavians, of whom a far greater percentage, 44 per cent. of the Danes and 50 per cent. of the Norwegians, are engaged in agriculture. Although found throughout all of the above-mentioned sections, by far the greatest percentage of those engaged in agriculture are found in the North Central states. This concentration is most marked in the case of the Norwegians, of whom 97 per cent. of those in agriculture are found in that section and Washington. Their total number is only 140,000. Nevertheless by further concentration in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Illinois, and Iowa within the North Central section they transform those states into a veritable Norway in America. The Danes, on the other hand, scatter so that it is difficult to point out a single large and well-defined Danish settlement, while the Swedes may be termed the compromisers, neither scattering as much as the Danes nor concentrating as much as the Norwegians. These settlers were further reinforced by a few Icelanders. The natives assumed a by no means favorable attitude towards those who were entering into competition with them; but the newcomers were on a quest for homes which nothing except absolute prohibition could prevent. In this search the similarity of conditions in the various sections of America to those of their former habitats was their principal guide. Thus the Germans selected the timber lands of the Northwest; the Norwegians the rough and hilly lands; the Irish the well-watered meadows. This conception that agriculture in America must necessarily resemble their own in Europe was not always fortunate. Since agricultural conditions in Ireland were wretched, it deterred a large number of the Irish from going on the land. As a result only 354 out of every 10,000 Irish own farm homes while 611 of the Germans, 717 of the Scandinavians, and 721 of the British do. The immigrants were, of course, influenced by other considerations also. Some had friends or relatives in certain localities. Industrious land agents were always portraying the splendid advantages of the sections in which they were interested. The building of the railways facilitated immigration both by providing better markets and also by familiarizing laborers with the conditions in the unsettled sections. Sometimes events which ought to be condemned had fortunate results. During the canal mania Illinois became virtually bankrupt. As a result it paid its Irish laborers with so-called canal scrip. The only thing for which this was acceptable was land. Consequently a number of the Irish invested in land and became permanent settlers.

The presence of the Negro in the South caused the foreigners to avoid that section. It is only in recent years that the increasing demand for labor in order that the South may develop its resources has met with any distinct response. Of those that are testing the possible opportunities there the Swedes, Germans, and Irish are foremost. The exhaustion of the public demesne forces the immigrants into such new channels. Thus the neglected and abandoned lands of the Middle Atlantic and New England states are now being put into cultivation. Among those who utilize this opportunity the Irish, Swedes, Finns, Norwegians, Dutch, Germans and Poles are the leaders.

The success of these settlers has depended largely on the type of settlement formed. The joint stock company proved a failure in promoting settling. Money-making and colonization would not go together. Communistic enterprises also proved ephemeral. More promising were the religious, philanthropic, and national enterprises, especially when they were provided with ample funds. In the case of the Irish, the Catholic church tried to promote colonization. A priest was the first sent so as to secure effective religious services. The Germans tried to direct their emigrants to definite sections so that they might be Germanized. In case the expectation that the United States would break up had been realized those settlements would then have become independent states. The chief of these attempts centered in Wisconsin and Texas. All of these attempts failed, principally on account of mismanagement. Nor was it advisable in the earliest period for an immigrant to start out alone. Great suffering frequently resulted. The best plan was for the settlers to settle in groups, but each one independent of all the others. Germans and Scandinavians often did this following the instructions either of friends already settled in that locality or of an agent sent in advance to ascertain conditions there.

These settlers came from the agricultural sections of Europe. Consequently their success depended on their ability to adapt themselves to American methods. That such success has been attained will be questioned by no one who has compared the rude conditions of the pioneer with those of to-day. Since the great majority settled in the North Central States, they engaged in general farming. In this type of farming the Scandinavians and Germans are leaders. The Danes are noted for their success in butter-making and dairying. The Scandinavians are more likely to waste the fertility of the land than the Germans, who maintain it through the rotation of crops and the application of fertilizers. Wisconsin is the example of German success just as Utah is of English. The fortunate choice of land contributed to German success while the Welsh succeeded in spite of an unfortunate choice. The success of the immigrant is by no means confined to general farming. The Germans raise grapes in California and carry on truck-raising and dairying in Georgia. Together with the Irish they raise rice and other southern products in Louisiana, Florida, and Alabama. The Scandinavians raise grapes in Alabama and truck and fruits in New Jersey. The German-Russians are especially successful in the beet sugar sections of Nebraska and the Swiss in the cheese industry in Wisconsin. Those whom we ought to praise the most are the Dutch who undertake the reclamation of our lowlands. The best proof of the superiority of the foreign to the native farmer is that the latter is yielding. The Germans and Irish are securing control of the farm lands of New Jersey, the Scandinavians are replacing the natives in Vermont, the Germans are replacing them in New York, and the Poles in Massachusetts.

The desirability of the immigrant does not, however, depend principally on his ability to accumulate wealth. If such accumulation is accompanied by a lowering of the American standard of living, he is undesirable. Among our foreign settlers we find the food simple, the clothes cheap and coarse. These features seem inevitable in a frontier community. If, however, they are retained after the community passes the frontier stage, the settlers are undesirable. As soon, however, as the immigrants from northwestern Europe passed that stage, they commenced imitating American customs. During the pioneer days any make-shift for a house had to be satisfactory. Now substantial houses are found almost everywhere. The early settlers had to work excessively hard to attain success. With the increase of prosperity they have ceased to do this. A very influential reason that the Germans, Scandinavians, and certain minor groups of foreigners outdistanced the natives was that among the former the women and children did a great deal of outdoor labor. The generation born in this country do not put the women and children in the fields. Thus in general the earlier immigrants are conforming to American standards.

Foreigners on the farms are easily assimilated. The main factor against assimilation is religion. This statement does not, of course, apply to the English-speaking peoples who belong in general to the same church as the natives. Other nationalities couple their language very closely with their forms of worship. They therefore try to maintain schools in their own language. Such attempts fail because of the preference on the part of the young for the English schools and also because a large number of the older people realize the paramount importance of English. Attempts were made by the conservatives to introduce their languages into the public schools. With the exception of Ohio and Pennsylvania where the Germans succeeded in introducing German such efforts have been failures everywhere. In the schools these peoples rank high. In fact the literacy of the Scandinavian immigrant has been higher than that of the Northerners as a whole. Their inclination is indicated by the large number of Germans and Scandinavians who engage in educational work. To obtain public land they had to become naturalized. Later the questions of local government naturally aroused interest in politics. The English on account of their previous acquaintance with our political customs excelled. The others, however, were also used to fairly democratic institutions so that they were not at such a great disadvantage. But they have been rather indifferent in this respect except where they have composed practically the entire population and therefore have been forced to participate. The Germans, as a matter of fact, looked on politics as a burdensome duty. Many thought abstinence from American politics creditable on account of the questionable character of the methods employed. The one exception is the Norwegian. He is a natural politician. He insists on his right to be recognized, and where due recognition is not voluntarily given he organizes to secure it. The most creditable feature of the engagement in politics of any of these foreigners is that they have generally worked for cleaner politics. Although with the exception of the Irish they are generally Republicans, they are by no means bound to the party. Exercising their right of independent thinking they make their vote depend on the issues.

The final criterion of the desirability of the immigrant is his character. The earlier immigrants were noted for their industry, economy, and frugality. Upon their arrival in this country they frequently developed an initiative and self-reliance which had previously been entirely unsuspected. Even the Irish, although those of them who sought the cities have been denounced severely, have proven very desirable on the farm. Furthermore ethnically nearly all of the earlier immigrants belonged to the same Teutonic stock as the natives. The wearing off of the clannishness of the foreigner and the appreciation by the American of his sterling qualities was followed by rapid assimilation.

During the greater part of the nineteenth century inadequate transportation facilities prevented a considerable number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe from entering the United States. Towards the close of the century, these facilities were improved so as to equal those from northwestern Europe. As a result, a vast number of immigrants from the former sections began to arrive. Simultaneously immigration from northwestern Europe decreased both because of the severe strain of the competition with the newer immigration and also because the settling of the United States and the industrial improvements of northwestern Europe had eliminated the advantages of the former. The turning point in immigration was about 1890. Since that time the bulk of the immigrants have been Jews, Italians, Portuguese, Poles, Bohemians, and Slovaks.

With the exception of the Jew all of these are laboring under the most undesirable economic circumstances at home. Out-of-date industrial organization together with the dense population makes the United States seem the Isle of Bliss. The Jew, on the other hand, although able through his innate shrewdness to attain an independent economic status, is prevented from doing so by the racial and religious prejudices of the people. This is especially true of Russia and Rumania, from which we obtain the mass of our Jewish immigrants. That such emigration is not due to economic hardships is perfectly clear in the case of the latter country, from which practically only Jews emigrate while the Rumanians remain at home.

That the Teutonic Americans would not look with as much pleasure upon the Slavs, Latins, and Jews as they did upon the entrance of the earlier immigrants who were of their own race can be explained as being due to unconscious race prejudice. It can not be said that the recent immigrant is very inferior morally. It is true that petty thefts occur frequently in Italian settlements and that the number of lawsuits in Polish settlements is extraordinarily large. The latter fact is largely due to the preference on the part of the Poles to settle personal difference involving trifling amounts in court rather than out of court as Americans do. None of the excessive criminal tendencies which exist among these peoples in the cities extend to the rural communities. In these communities the Italians and Slavs utilize all their time and in the case of farm owners and tenants every available inch of land. They are very frugal. The opposition they meet from business men may be largely due to their hesitation to spend. That they do not devote the land around their houses to trees and flowers, which is often explained as indicating a lack of the appreciation of beauty, may probably be just as much due to this characteristic whether we call it frugality or parsimony. The Jew, on the other hand, meets a much heartier welcome from the business world on account of his inclination to spend. He is not as industrious as the Slavs or Italians. Even in the rural communities his trading propensity often causes him to devote a part of his time to it.

The decrease in the number of immigrants that engage in agriculture may not be entirely due to the change in the type of immigrants but also to economic changes in the United States in connection with the exhaustion of the public demesne and the more intense industrial development. In fact this change had already commenced in the case of the earlier immigrants. For example a lower percentage of the Scandinavians engaged in agriculture after 1880 than before. To a large extent it is due to the foreigners' ignorance of the opportunities in agriculture, the uncertainty of the returns, and the isolated condition of American farm life. The friends and relatives of the recent immigrant are in the cities and thither he goes. With the exception of a few in Wisconsin we find the Italian farmers in New England, Middle Atlantic and Southern states, the Slavs are found in New England, Pennsylvania, and the East North Central and the West South Central states; the Jews in New England, New York, and New Jersey; and the Portuguese in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Most of these peoples have been in America too short a time to enable us to make definite conclusions as to their ability to conform to our customs. The third generation seems almost Americanized. Upon their entrance here they retain their typical food and clothes. Soon they find Old World styles and customs inconvenient and commence imitating the Americans. They seem content, however, with the cheapest and coarsest food and care little about its preparation. In selecting clothes they often retain their predilection for gaudy colors. Of course, the custom depends on the people. In general the Latins represent the lowest type, the Slavs the middle, and the Jews the highest. The Portuguese are considerably lower than the Italians. The Bohemians stand foremost among the Slavs, showing a distinct preference for good living and good clothes whenever they are financially able to afford them. The same general tendencies are observed in the case of houses. The Portuguese, Italians, and a number of the Slavic peoples manage in shacks with gardens right up to the walls. The Bohemians and Jews are eager for more substantial dwellings. Many of these peoples care for cleanliness and neatness neither outside or nor within their houses. Nevertheless the Portuguese on Martha's Vineyard, who are considered one of the lowest races in social standards, have well-kept gardens and even some flowers around their houses.

One reason for the ill-prepared food and the lack of tidiness is undoubtedly that the women and children must work so much in the fields. The entire family spends all the available time outdoors. Their poverty compels this, consequently these conditions are bound to continue until these peoples have accumulated a surplus sufficient to afford them some leisure.

Another result of this hard work is the neglect of education, a tendency furthered by an inclination to under-estimate its value. In their own countries the educational facilities are very deficient, thus accounting for the high percentage of illiteracy among them. Since religion and education are very closely associated among them they prefer sending their children to the Catholic parochial schools in which a minimum emphasis is placed on English education. Furthermore they are not accustomed to democratic institutions. Therefore it is not surprising that they take little interest in politics. No free public lands act as a spur. Gradually but very slowly they are commencing to take interest in local affairs. Participation in these will undoubtedly broaden their conception until they extend their attention to state and national affairs. Here again lies a danger. Hitherto they have generally acted as a group, following certain leaders. If these leaders should happen to be unscrupulous, the result would be detrimental. The exception is again the Jew. He realized the value of education, and succeeds well in educational lines. In politics he acts independently although governed by a strong race-consciousness.

On account of their poverty and the absence of free public lands, a large number of these immigrants become tenants and laborers. Practically all the Portuguese labor in the cranberry bogs where they have become almost indispensable. The Slavic laborer is very subservient while the Italian is inclined to shirk if he is not closely supervised. Their type of agriculture differs from that of the earlier immigrant with respect to the average acreage. A large number have five acres or less while very few have eighty which may be considered the minimum holding of the earlier immigrant. On account of the smaller holdings there are also fewer general farmers. The agricultural conditions of their own countries would lead us to expect small scale farming. The products raised depend, of course, on the section in which they are located. They raise tobacco, cotton, truck, and fruit. The Italian especially may be called the truck and fruit-grower. Their bank accounts are small because they invest their surplus in additional land. Consequently the steady growth in their acreage is an accurate index to their prosperity. Such prosperity is, however, due to lower standards of living rather than to improved methods of farming. They still prefer hand-labor to machinery. They make only slight use of fertilizers. Again the Jew is the exception. He is a farm owner and does not hesitate to invest in machinery and fertilizers. In fact he tends to go to the other extreme. His outlays are often unwise. Moreover, he likes to undertake side occupations. As a result it frequently happens that he does not prosper on the farm. This condition is the more surprising because he has had more outside assistance than any of the others. The best managed effort for that purpose has been the one financed by the Baron de Hirsch fund. In fact the Jew would probably never have attempted agriculture to any considerable extent if it had not been for these efforts. The result has been a few colonies of rather impractical farmers. Colonization efforts in the case of the other immigrants have frequently been mismanaged and have failed unless each one has been given sole possession of his property. Such settlements differ considerably from the group settlements of the earlier immigrants in that each one is far more dependent on the others socially.

Recently the impression has been growing that too many undesirable immigrants are being admitted. To remedy this defect a literacy test has been provided. The protection which such restrictive legislation will afford American capital and labor will undoubtedly be temporary. Far more important is the question whether we can assimilate the hordes which are entering. As indicated above, the number entering has increased so rapidly in the last few years that the result is doubtful. Nevertheless a literacy test does not seem the proper method of securing the result desired. It excludes individuals who have not had an opportunity rather than those who lack ability. What is needed is a publicity bureau to inform the immigrants of the best opportunities in this country. If any one is admitted without the necessary means to betake himself to the proper locality it is our moral duty to aid him. This publicity and distribution bureau would find no lack of opportunities for the immigrants. The density of the population of the Southern States to-day is very low compared with that of the Northern:

Alabama	35	New York	152
Arkansas	24	Illinois	86
Louisiana	30	Ohio	102
Texas	11	Pennsylvania	140
Florida	9	Massachusetts	349

The wonderful resources of those States are almost untouched.

The foreigners are very welcome there. It would be unfair to the South to deprive her of these immigrants who would develop her agricultural resources merely because the North is more fully developed. In the West there are still 485,000,000 acres of idle land. The East has its abandoned farms. If the results of a policy of internal distribution of the immigrant should prove unsatisfactory then it would be time to pass laws restricting immigration. In the meantime we should not forget America's great debt to the immigrant.

WHY IMMIGRANTS GO TO CITIES[1]

H. P. FAIRCHILD

It is apparent that our foreign-born residents tend irresistibly to congregate in the most densely settled portions of the country, and in the most densely populated states. But this is not all. They also tend to congregate in the largest cities, and in the most congested sections of those cities. In 1890, 61.4 per cent. of the foreign-born population of the United States were living in cities of at least 2500 population. In 1900 the percentage had increased to 66.3, while 38.8 per cent. of the entire foreign-born population were huddled into the few great cities having a population of over 100,000. In the same year only 36.1 per cent of the native-born population were living in cities of over 2500. This tendency appears to be increasing in strength, and is more marked among the members of the new immigration than among the older immigrants. Thus in 1910 the percentage of foreign-born living in cities of the specified size had risen to 72.2.

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[1] Adapted from "Immigration," pp. 229–231. Macmillan, New York, 1913.

The reasons for this tendency of the foreign-born to congregate in the most densely settled districts may be briefly summarized as follows. (1) They land, almost without exception, in cities, and it is often the easiest thing for them to stay there. It takes some capital, knowledge, and enterprise to carry the immigrant any distance from the port of arrival, unless he has a definite connection in some other place. Yet it is claimed that, land them where you would, about the same number of immigrants would find their way to New York within a few weeks. (2) Economic opportunities are much more abundant and varied in the cities than in the country. (3) Such occupations as are obtainable in the city require much less capital than the characteristic country occupations. With a few dollars, an immigrant in the city can set himself up in some independent business, depending on turning over his capital rapidly to make a living. There are so many people in the city, that if one can manage to serve the most trivial want satisfactorily, he can get along. But any independent business in the country requires a larger outlay of capital than the average immigrant can hope for. The only country occupation open to him is common farm labor, and there are other reasons which make him ill adapted for this. (4) In the cities, the newly arrived immigrant can keep in close touch with others of his own race and tongue. In the compact colony of his fellow-countrymen, he may be sure of companionship, encouragement, and assistance when needed. It is the most natural thing in the world for an immigrant to want to settle where there are numbers of others of his immediate kind. (5) Knowledge of the English language is much less essential in the city than in the country. The presence of others who can speak the same tongue makes it possible for an immigrant to make a living without knowing a word of the language of his adopted country, as many of them do for year after year. In the rural districts, however, it is impossible for a newly arrived immigrant to get along at all without a knowledge of the English language, either in independent business, or as an employee, unless he settles in a farm colony of people of his own race, of which there are, of course, many to be found. (6) Not only is there more chance of friendly relief from fellow-countrymen, in case of necessity, in the cities, but public relief agencies and private benevolences are much more available there than in the country. (7) The excitement and novelty of American city life is very attractive to many immigrants—just as it is to natives. Trolley cars, skyscrapers, and moving picture shows are wonderfully alluring features. In fact, in addition to the considerations which are peculiar to himself, the immigrant has all the general incentives to seek the city, which operate upon the general population, and which have produced so decided a change in the distribution of population within the last few decades.

IMMIGRATION AS A SOURCE OF FARM LABORERS[1]

JOHN LEE COULTER

Agriculture has so long been looked upon as the dumping-ground of all surplus labor in case of city industries, of all poverty-stricken persons in case of famines, and all revolutionary individuals in case of disruption in European countries, that it is hard to realize that we have reached the state where farming in practically all of its branches requires a very high order of intelligence and the capacity to grasp and use a great variety of scientific facts. We may, therefore, say that, although it is true that we need farm labor very much, as a relief for current immigration agricultural distribution is not promising.

There are two great classes of immigrants that can find room in various branches of the agricultural industry. The first class is composed of those from overcrowded agricultural communities in their home countries. On account of the high state of development of their industry they can teach us much which we have failed to take advantage of and which would result in the uplift of many of the sub-industries in agriculture in this country. These should be urged to bring with them their home industries and introduce new phases of agriculture into this country. The United States has been spending millions of dollars in introducing new plants, animals, and methods of farming from other countries. At the same time little groups of foreigners, such as the Swiss of Wisconsin or later the Italians in some Southern districts, formerly thought of as the least desirable immigrants, have settled in our midst and put into practice their home training, which has resulted in the establishing of great industries, such as the Swiss cheese industry. The class of immigrants most desired is, therefore, those who will add most to the industry they enter. But it is not necessary that the immigrants should introduce some new sub-industry or be in advance of us in their methods in order to make them eligible to enter the agricultural industries. We may say as a general proposition that farmers from nearly any agricultural community in Europe would be acceptable in some of the agricultural industries of this country. If reasonable precautions are taken the immigrants referred to, even though they bring no new industry, will not become public charges, but will add to the general prosperity of the country. The class objected to, the refuse from other industries, not only adds nothing new but is apt either to lower the standard of the agricultural industry or to become a public charge.

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[1] Adapted from *Annals* 33: 373–379, Jan.–June, 1909.

But it is not enough to encourage one class of immigrants and discourage or prohibit others. The immigrants must not only come from rural districts in their mother-country; if they are to succeed, they must be properly located here. Probably the most important single condition is that immigrants should be directed toward and urged to locate where their physical environment will correspond as nearly as may be to that of their mother-country. By that I mean that not only should the climate be nearly the same, but the precipitation, the soils, and the topography should approach that of their former home, if possible. Failure to satisfy these preliminary requirements has resulted in almost complete failure or a long period of suffering, while attention to these factors has produced unpredicted successes.

The next consideration of singular importance is that the social environment should be acceptable. If the agricultural operations are not close to a city where others of the same nationality are employed in other industries, it is desirable—

almost necessary—that a considerable number be allowed, even induced, if need be, to settle in a community. At first, they will live as in a world apart, but they give off ideas and take on others and at the end of a generation or two a few intermarriages will have broken down the hard-and-fast wall between settlements. Common markets, interchange of labor supply, contests between settlements, political and other conflicts, and back of it all the common-school system, soon result in an amalgamated, assimilated race.

The next consideration which should be held in mind in determining upon the distribution of immigrants among the different branches of the agricultural industry is the economic status of the people to be distributed and their plans or ambitions for the future. Thus, some are independent laborers, others ready to become tenants, and still others to be landowners. Some plan to be employees as long as they stay; some of these would plan to save a snug fortune in a few years and return to the mother-country, others to earn and use the returns from year to year. Some plan to step up to the position of tenant and employer, others are ready to enter that state at once. Some are ready to become landowners and independent farmers by purchase of land in settled districts, others with less capital would go to the frontier with poorer markets and grow up with the country, enduring hardships but accumulating wealth. There is room for all of these classes of people in nearly all parts of the country.

The extended successes accompanied by individual failures of the English-speaking peoples who early entered the agricultural industry of this country need not be expanded upon here. Neither will any detailed treatment of the extensive settlement by Germans in the North Central States during the last half-century be made. We may place the general influx of Scandinavians into Minnesota and the Dakotas in the same class and pass by all of these—which means the great bulk of immigrants of agricultural peoples—with the statement that they represent success and with the assumption that students of economics know of these classes and know of their successes. It is because we are too apt to stop at this point and say that other nationalities as a rule have little or nothing to offer that this paper is presented. The writer would emphasize the fact that we have room for farmers from many lands, assuming that we act intelligently in our choice and properly distribute those who come.

The large Swiss settlement in Green County, Wisconsin, illustrates success in the introduction of a new sub-industry of great importance. Having struggled for years trying to farm in the American way, these immigrants finally turned to the great industry of their home country. They had settled in a physical enviroment which was very much like what they had left abroad. Now several hundred cheese factories are prospering and millions of pounds of cheese are annually placed upon our markets. Most of it is the famous Swiss cheese. It should also be noted that nearly all of those engaged in making this cheese and in buying and selling it are Swiss or of Swiss origin. The writer feels that this colony is a great success, is the kind of thing this country wants, is the basis of prosperity in our agriculture, and must not be condemned because of the fact that broad Swiss is sometimes spoken or because the thousands of members of the district are not assimilated during the first generation. The writer has found individuals and small groups of settlers from this colony and from "the old country" moving far up into the Northwest carrying with them the information and ambition to start other colonies as prosperous as the old one. The acquisition of such an industry is as valuable to this country as the introduction of a new plant that may have required the expenditure of a hundred thousand dollars.

Turning from this prosperous Swiss district, we may direct our attention to a Bohemian center in northwestern Minnesota. The Swiss had sent explorers ahead to find a desirable location before coming to this country and settling down. The Bohemians were in no greater financial straits in their home country than the Swiss had been, but they were brought in and located by great transportation companies. The soil where the Bohemians were "dumped" is very good; but the country needs an expensive drainage system. The poor immigrants are not in a position to establish it. The result is that for some fifteen years we have had before our eyes a Bohemian colony numbering hundreds of people, unable to establish a prosperous community because of unfavorable natural conditions. These people will succeed in time, despite obstacles, but some common-sense assistance would hasten the day of their prosperity.

In other parts of the United States large settlements of Bohemians of no higher standard are prosperous and happy. As an illustration of the status that should obtain the writer would refer to some of the very prosperous communities of Poles and Icelanders in North Dakota and elsewhere. No class of citizens, whether immigrants or descended from immigrants half a dozen steps removed, could ask for greater material progress, better buildings—homes, churches, schools, and town buildings—than the Polish settlements around Warsaw, Poland, Minto, and Ardock in Walsh County, North Dakota. The writer's knowledge of this and other communities of like character leads him to say that to encourage such settlements is to foster prosperity and frugality as well as to place the stamp of approval upon a home-loving, land-loving class of farmers. If we pass on to settlements of Russians we may say nearly the same as above. With a love for land and home which is almost beyond our understanding, these people are too often frugal to a fault. They come with a low standard of living and during the first generation the standard does not rise much. But the change soon comes. The children, or at least the grandchildren, become thoroughly American unless the immigrants have been located in an enviroment where success is impossible. In this connection we might refer to such concrete cases as the settlements in central and western North Dakota, or the large prosperous colony in Ellis County, Kansas, or the newer settlements in the Southwest.

Nor need we stop with the Swiss, Bohemians, Polanders, Icelanders, and Russians. If we turn our attention to the Italians coming into the South we find them filling the various places demanding attention. There is a large demand for white labor, and the mass of Italians who do not intend to make this their life-home more and more fill a long-felt need. With the great numbers of Mexicans coming across the line for part of a season this demand may gradually be better and better satisfied. There is also a large demand for tenants, and this cry is being answered by Italians. These newcomers are not only fitting into the cotton-growing industry in competition with the colored people, but are proving their efficiency in vegetable and fruit farming. Of late years such settlements as that of Italians at Tontitown, Arkansas, in the Ozark Mountains, show also that Italians can bring their home industry with them and succeed here. They not only settle down as dignified farmers, but actually teach our farmers many things. Vegetables, apples, plums, grapes, and other fruits are successfully grown. If the colony located at Sunnyside, Arkansas, at an earlier date was a failure at first, it is no sign that Italians cannot succeed in agriculture. Immigrants, largely from other industries, placed in competition with Negroes in production of a crop that they knew absolutely nothing about, under foremen accustomed to drive slaves, in a swamp country—hot and sickly to newcomers—attacked by malarial fever and losing a large number of the first settlers, it is not to be wondered at that failure was threatened. But success has come even in that case, where failure at first stared all in the face.

With colonies like the Brandsville Swiss settlement in Missouri, with the Italians and Russians coming even into old New England, with Mexicans pushing up into the Southwest, and with other nationalities gradually finding their own, we may indeed turn our attention toward the agricultural industry as a much-neglected field. The cry of "back to the land" will not go unheeded by immigrants who have come from farms in their mother-country if any reasonable amount of effort is put forth to "assist them to find themselves."

Reference might also be made to the Jewish farm problems of the Middle Atlantic States, problems which have importance as far West as Wisconsin; and to the Japanese and Chinese agricultural labor problems of the far West and Southwest. There are possibilities here which few people have yet appreciated. The question of demand for seasonal agricultural labor and the possibilities of continual labor by passing from one industry to another in neighboring districts or following the same industry from one part of the country to another are left untouched.

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CHAPTER V

PRESENT PROBLEMS OF COUNTRY LIFE

WANTED: A NATIONAL POLICY IN AGRICULTURE[1]

EUGENE DAVENPORT

THE purpose of this paper is to invite attention to the very great need at the present time of a more definite policy regarding agriculture; a policy that shall be national in its scope, universal in its interests, and comprehensive in its procedures.

The term national policy is not intended to mean a policy of the Federal Government as over against the States, nor indeed a governmental policy of any kind as distinct from the convictions and the ideals of the people from which and from whom our democratic government proceeds.

What is meant is rather such consensus of intelligent opinion and such a deliberate judgment about agriculture as shall represent the constructive purpose of the American people whether farmers, laborers, or business men, and whether operating in their private or their governmental capacities. What is meant is such a common recognition of certain facts and principles to be established by investigation and conference as shall amount at any given time to a national policy about farms and farmers and farming as over against the policy which assumes a struggle of each separate interest to maintain its place in a constantly shifting balance of power in which all are frankly antagonistic and each prospers or suffers in proportion to the force it is able to exert and the advantage it is able to secure.

This policy is not called a program because programs are made to carry out fixed and predetermined purposes, while the thing in the mind of the speaker is rather a status and a procedure under shifting conditions, with the intent always to promote the prosperity of the farmer, not as a favored class but as a typical and component part of society, producing the food of the people and in potential control of the land policies of the commonwealth.

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[1] Adapted from "Proceedings of 32nd Annual Convention of the Assn. of Am. Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations," pp. 52–68.

My general thesis is this: That considerations of fairness and of public safety both demand a higher regard for the affairs and interests of the open country and for the welfare of the farmer and his family; that in a real democracy the farmer must stand higher than hitherto in public esteem, not because of demands he may make upon society but by reason of his worth and his service; and that he should count for more in the management of public affairs not administratively, in which he has little skill, but in matters requiring counsel, in which he is comparatively wise and relatively unprejudiced.

Agriculture, whether considered as a profession or as a mode of life, has never figured adequately in world affairs, being regarded by publicists mainly as the source of cheap food for cheap labor and of raw materials good for commerce and for manufacture, both convenient for holding the balance of trade upon the right side of the ledger. The farmer himself has been generally considered as an unskilled laborer, a humble producer rather than a typical citizen.

Outside the technical journals, the public press is almost as silent about farmers and agriculture—except for an occasional poor joke, the annual crop statistics, or the market report—as if our farming were done upon Mars. The columns are full of the struggles between labor and capital, of society notes and of business schemes, but in general a murder trial with a mystery, or the love letters in a triangular divorce suit are good for more space than the greatest livestock exposition in the world. Our magazines and the public mind are full of modern scientific achievements and of art, but how much does the world know or care about the farmer and his phenomenal success in animal and plant improvement or the pictures he paints every year upon the landscape? Clearly our public press is animated almost exclusively by urban interests even in cities that owe their very commercial existence and financial support to the agricultural activity of the immediate environs. To be sure, the statistician and the speculator know something about farming but not about the farmer, for their interest is limited to the mass results in the form of millions of bushels and does not extend to the matter of their production, the welfare of the producer, or the effect upon the land.

Everybody agrees that this is to be a different world after the war, but no thoughtful man can fail to be struck with the character of the economic and social questions that begin to loom large in connection with reconstruction: trade routes, the new merchant marine, raw materials, improved facilities for extending credit, coöperative business, public ownership of public utilities, government oversight of private enterprises, excess profits, inheritance taxes, prohibition, woman suffrage, the perennial problems of the relations between capital and labor, the minimum wage, the maximum day, and time and a half for overtime. Not an item, not a suggestion, of anything agricultural either as a business or as a mode of life, if we may except the occasional mention of the word "land" and certain plans for providing homesteads for the returning soldiers, which is an army, not an agricultural, proposition.

For the most part our considerable list of reconstruction problems may be reduced to the two great questions that mainly concern the public mind to-day; namely, foreign and domestic trade, and the perennial contest between capital and labor. We forget the citizen because we have learned to think politically and socially mainly in terms of commerce based upon manufacture, under conditions requiring vast combinations of capital, concentration of population, and division of labor—the very conditions that inspire not only greed of gain and social unrest, but international war. Yet our interest lies here rather than with the peaceful pursuits of the open country.

It may well be said that if there is a dearth of live problems in the public mind regarding agriculture, it is the fault of the farmers themselves inasmuch as each interest is assumed to be responsible for promoting its own affairs. Granted, but even so the conclusion is irresistible that people generally do not regard agricultural problems as of public concern, while my chief contention is that the public even more than the farmer is interested in the discovery and the proper solution of every problem connected with the public domain, with the production of food, and with the character and condition of that portion of our population that shall live upon the land.

I say that the public is more interested than the farmer in these matters because ''The Farmer'' is actually a collection of individuals who can for the most part extricate themselves from any intolerable situation that may develop; while the country as a whole cannot extricate itself from the consequences of bad agricultural policies that easily develop when matters of fundamental character intimately connected with food production, home-building, and land ownership are left to shift for themselves.

But we are not without a start in the right direction. More than half a century ago we began to think nationally about agriculture. The impulse had its origin in our consular service and in the primitive collecting instinct whereby seeds and roots of promising foreign plants were sent to America for trial. Out of this grew the Department of Agriculture, representing the official determination of America to do whatever could be done administratively to promote agricultural welfare at home and marketing facilities abroad.

Again, in the darkest days of our Civil War the United States established the most unique educational system which the world has ever known; hence this association and the colleges it represents. Aiming at increased production though it does, and national in scope though it is, yet after all, the basis of the system is the education and the initiative of the individual, for it is founded upon instruction of collegiate grade and based upon scientific investigation of the highest order. We could not have a better foundation for the edifice that shall one day stand as emblematical of our national aims and purposes in agriculture than is the education system represented by this Association of American Agricultural Colleges, and there could be no better corner-stone for the structure than the work of the experiment stations connected therewith.

But this is only a beginning of a national policy for agriculture; there yet exists a wide gulf between what these public agencies are doing or can do and what the individual is accomplishing or able to accomplish under anything like present or prospective conditions. If agriculture is to figure as it must figure in a successful democracy, then this gulf must somehow be bridged.

It must never be forgotten in this connection that in a successful democracy occuping territory of continental proportions, approximately one-third of all the people will live upon the land. Moreover, it is this third and not the mass representing organized industry or the fraction representing "business," through which the line of descent will mainly run. Who these people are, therefore, that live upon the land, which third of our population they represent, and what they are thinking about day by day and year by year as the generations come and go, may easily make all the difference between success and failure in the experiment of democratic government, to which all the world now stands committed and in which experiment the United States occupies a position of associated leadership as conspicuous as it was inevitable.

Specifically, then, what is it that agriculture needs and does not have but that is essential to the highest success and the greatest safety both of the farming people and of the nation as a whole? What are some of the things that must be provided from the national end after the individual, by his education, his industry, and his thrift, has done all that may fairly be expected of him, and the State he lives in has done what it can?

If agriculture were solely an individual enterprise we should simply consult the farmer about his needs and desires. But agriculture is more than farming and the public must be party to any policies affecting the production of its food, the management of its lands, or the social and political welfare of its people. The question, therefore, what does agriculture need? must be divided and considered both from the point of view of the farmer and from that of the public in its largest capacity—that is to say, the nation, present and prospective.

First of all, then, what more does the farmer need? If this question should be put to the observer from the parlor car or to the publicist, he would likely say that the farmer needs to work to a better purpose and to be more careful of his equipment; that he doubtless needs more capital as he certainly needs to organize his affairs according to modern business methods, and to know better than he does what things cost him.

But if the same question be asked the farmer, he will have a different answer. He will say that the farmer needs many things which he is powerless to provide but without which the business is becoming less and less desirable from a relative point of view, therefore declining.

He will probably say first of all that he wants better educational opportunities for his children, for as matters stand now they must leave the parental roof at a tender age or else he must uproot his home, abandon his business, and go to town if his children are not to fall behind those of the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker—to be more specific, of the carpenter, the plumber, and the day laborer.

But we have the Smith-Hughes bill which in itself is evidence that the public has not only recognized but acknowledged the conditions and begun to correct them—in a wise way too, for in a democracy the people must take the lead or at least carry a part of the burden of all progress. This plan which we have begun is a logical extension of the land-grant idea into the domain of secondary education.

We are evidently headed in the right direction at this point, but our progress will be insufficient until we succeed in providing for the children of the farm as wholesome, as adequate, and as cultural if not as varied, educational opportunities as are provided in the most favored cities. There are obstacles to be overcome of course, chief of which are the low tax-paying ability of the open country as compared with the congested city, and the high per capita cost of education.

But if we are to remain a democracy and be safe, this burden must in some way be assumed by the public and not remain a permanent handicap upon the profession of farming. If it is not so assumed as a national policy and as a part of a national plan, even to the extent of heavily subsidizing rural education, it is inevitable that we shall ultimately have a peasant population on the farms, and colleges such as ours will have no students of collegiate grade except from among land-holding city residents. It requires no prophet to foresee that when such a time comes democratic institutions will begin to crumble at their foundations.

Next to the lack of educational opportunities for his children comparable with those of the city, the farmer will insist that the

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income from his business is inadequate to enable him to maintain the same scale of living as that provided through other occupations requiring equal or even less preparation, industry, or investment.

Pushed for proof, he will reason substantially as follows: All studies in cost accounting show a labor income from farming which in the vast majority of cases is ridiculously small, failing oftener than not to require more than three figures for its expression and recognized by the public as a joke. We are not now considering the exceptional man, or what might be done, but we are to study deliberately what the great mass of farmers, our hardest working people, are accomplishing or indeed can accomplish in earning power through the production of staple foods under conditions that have prevailed and that are likely to obtain at the close of the war and afterwards.

The farmer will confess that he has long been criticized for tight-fistedness in refusing to pay "decent wages" and that he has thereby lost the bulk of his best labor, even his own sons. He will point out that a Federal milk commission very recently after six weeks' deliberation refused to allow a price that would net him thirty cents an hour for the labor involved in milk production, even though the same milk was delivered by drivers getting a hundred or more dollars a month with no risks and no expenses.

He will point out how severely he has been criticized in the press and from the platform for failure to provide bathrooms in his home and modern conveniences for his wife, whom he loves as other men love their wives; but he will also point out that the policy which refused him thirty cents an hour for his own labor, permits the plumber in a country town to charge eighty cents (by the latest information, to be exact, eighty-one and one-quarter) with fifty cents for a boy helper, who for the most part does little work, and the like of whom would not be "worth his salt" upon the farm.

This farmer will be able to show also that if he should attempt to pay the minimum wage of Mr. Ford or of the labor unions with an eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime now recognized by the Federal Government, he would either speedily lose his farm or else the cost of food would run to a level unapproached by the present war prices. Specifically, this would mean that milk would have retailed in Chicago last winter at some seventeen cents a quart instead of twelve, as allowed by a Federal commission, or the thirteen that would have satisfied the farmers, and that present prices of meat and butter would expand some twenty or twenty-five per cent.

If he reads the daily papers, as he probably does, this farmer will also point out that under Federal management of the railways, his local station agent (not a telegrapher) has just been granted a minimum wage of ninety-five dollars a month on the basis of an eight-hour day, pro-rata addition for two days overtime and time and a half for further excess. Any good farm laborer can do this work; how, therefore, shall the farmer compete at less than thirty cents an hour and with what arguments shall he preserve the independence and initiative of his own son over against a government job, protected by the civil service, backed by a powerful union, and guaranteeing with no investment and no risk a minimum wage far in excess of what the father has ever made upon the farm, with an eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime, spent wholly under shelter and mostly in an armchair?

The situation is illustrated by my own experience within a fortnight wherein a farm laborer protested against his wage of seventy-seven dollars per month upon the ground that his son of seventeen was making one hundred and sixty-five dollars a month in the railroad yards a mile away.

There are vast wheat growing regions in this country underlain by coal deposits. Here farming and mining come together. Here the farmer's income from wheat growing and the miner's wage may be directly compared. When this is done, it will be found that the farmer is unable with the most modern machinery and methods to cultivate with his own hands land enough to produce a labor income equal to that of the soft coal miner, working and living in the same neighborhood, trading at the same stores, attending the same churches, and sending his children to the same schools.

Here we have a class of artisans largely of alien birth and not yet citizens, but protected in their earning capacity by a powerful organization whose existence and demands are now recognized as a part of our national policy. No preparation is required for their business, nothing is invested, no taxes paid, and no risks assumed except perhaps a slightly, a very slightly, increased hazard of life offset to a considerable degree by easier hours and healthier conditions of work.

But the citizen farmer who lives in the same community with the miner, whose children grow up with his own, and who is a manager in a small way, competing in the labor market, must invest in land and buildings, tools and livestock. He must pay taxes and insurance and repairs and veterinary fees. He must work often sixteen hours, seldom less than ten, and he must be on duty day and night, ready always to care for his independent plant—all this, and yet in order to receive a labor income equal to that of the soft coal miner, whether citizen or alien, with no preparation, with nothing invested but a pick and shovel, and with no risk involved, the farmer must not only work himself as no professional laborer ever works, but he must also work his children without pay.

The ultimate consequence of this condition needs no exposition here. By as much as this country could not permanently remain half free and half slave, no more can our democracy endure without a national policy and plan that will equalize to some degree at least the income from the land and investment in the most perishable of all equipment on the one hand and the rewards of unskilled labor upon the other.

But if the profits of farming are so meager, how can we have so many "rich farmers" here and there as to make the term proverbial? The situation to which this question refers will bear analysis. There are many rich farmers, as riches go among common people, but it will be found upon investigation that they belong to one of four classes, mostly unique or temporary:

First. Exceptional men on large farms or else engaged in some branch of specialized farming which by its nature is limited in its application.

Second. Men who have inherited their farms and to whom these farms therefore represent a capital investment that cost them nothing.

Third. Men who have deliberately raised large families in order to have at hand an abundance of unpaid labor, brutalizing womanhood from no higher motives than actuated thousands in raising soldiers for the Kaiser.

Fourth. Men who have obtained their lands in an early day at a nominal rate, often as low as fifty cents an acre, and who have worked the land "for all that's in it," mining out fertility as the operator mines out coal. Here is where most of the rich farmers will be found—a crop that can be produced once and only once in any country.

Whoever knows the conditions that actually obtain in respect to home-building will understand the deep-seated unrest that is becoming wide-spread in this country because of the increasing difficulty in securing ownership to land. To the public generally this is a sealed chapter in the notes of an unwritten history, but to those of us who can remember when there was no "Great West," when Cincinnati was called Porkoplis, and when steers were fed from the open ranges across the prairies to the central market, this is no mystery. We understand perfectly well what the mass of Americans do not know, that until about the opening of the present century, men, women and children worked willingly and often cruelly without money and without price for the sake of developing out of nature's raw material "a home of their own." That opportunity has now gone and with it the impulse to labor for something better than money. Hereafter the farmer, like other people, will have to reckon his income in terms of cash.

The wave of land hunger now going up over this country is but the premonition of what is coming if it is to remain as difficult as now for country-minded young families to obtain, within a reasonable period, homes of their own. Here within our midst almost unnoticed and for the most part unknown is growing up a situation of vastly more import to public welfare than are all the questions of merchant marine, trade routes, raw materials, and preferential tariffs combined. The facts are that as matters are going now, land is slipping away from the typical farmer, and his children will soon be disappearing from our colleges.

But why be so solicitous about a class of people who cannot or will not take care of themselves? That is exactly the point. We have now reached a time in world development when we recognize the fact that many very good things cannot take care of themselves but must be cared for, even fought for, and that the policy of *laissez faire* is often fatal to peaceful progress.

If the farmer is not satisfied and thinks he can better himself then let him change his profession. Exactly, and that is what he is doing in an alarming proportion of instances, but what about the rest of us, and wherewithal shall we be fed? If farming were a profession engaging but a few thousand people, we might afford to let it alone, but it is our largest industry, engaging millions of some kind of citizens. It is a matter of public concern, therefore, both ways, that they be prosperous and gradually evolving with the rest of the world.

It is because the farmer as such cannot take care of himself; because we are drifting rapidly away from conditions that promote a stable democracy and toward agrarian revolution, that a national policy about agriculture must be one of the major and not the minor considerations in readjusting the affairs of this disturbed country, which is now, in common with the rest of the world, in a highly fluid condition and ready for the hand of the molder.

Whatever is true of farmers as individuals or of farming as a profession, the chief concern about agriculture after all, and the considerations that demand a national policy and plan, fall well within the domain of public welfare.

The country as a whole, even more than the average farmer, is concerned about the housing, the sanitary surroundings, and the health of that third of our population which lives upon the farm under what ought to be and what can well be ideal physical and moral conditions for raising the citizens of a democracy. Yet no man will admit that even in this great, new, rich country, with its high percentage of literacy, are these conditions anywhere near ideal.

Again, the country as a whole is more interested than the average man is likely to be in the kind and amount of education which is to be combined with the wholesome industry that naturally attends upon life in the country, and in so far as either of these considerations is hampered from lack of funds or ideals, the public is bound to supply both, for the class of people is too numerous, its power for good or evil too great, to justify neglect.

The home-building instinct is not only the greatest known incentive to work but it is also the safety clutch for democratic institutions. We have enjoyed a half century of unexampled prosperity, largely because it has been based upon cheap food—food so cheap as not to repay the labor bestowed upon it, to say nothing of capital, of which there was little, or the extraction of fertility, of which there was much. There is nothing that will get so much work out of a man and his family as the desire to own the home that shelters them, and we have capitalized this instinct to the limit, together with an almost total disregard of virgin fertility. This latter component of cheap food is gone; it behooves us now to make the most of the former even though it may somewhat increase the price of food.

Under existing conditions farmers will do one of two things: require financial returns comparable with those of other people, or settle back upon the primitive self-sufficing system, producing not a supply but a simple surplus over their own needs. In either case more expensive food is inevitable—in the one instance from an increased initial cost of production and in the other from a reduced supply.

From the standpoint, therefore, both of the amount and the price of food it is in every way to the advantage of the public to stimulate the home-building as against the money-making motive among farmers. That way too lies safety for our democracy. To this end it must be made easier for the young people of each and every generation to acquire the ownership of land with such betterments and such opportunities for living and rearing families as may produce ideal Americans. As the land must change operators every generation, it must not be too difficult also to change ownership.

And we must go on further in our national plan than to make it easy to acquire ownership in land. We must care for this land as a national asset and as a perpetual obligation, in the interest of future Americans. Ownership means at best but temporary control, and whoever carries in his pocket a deed to a portion of the national domain is in reality a tenant at will, and the conditions of his tenantry should be such decent regard to the fertility of the land he occupies as shall insure increasing, not decreasing, productivity. In no other way can the lives and the fortunes, in no other way can the domestic peace of the millions of coming Americans be guaranteed. This too must go into the policy.

After all, who is The Farmer? And where is the land which he wants? The attempt to answer these questions brings us very near to the crux of the situation. Not far from half the acreage of our better lands is owned by one group and operated by another. Who then is The Farmer? When two families are attempting to live off the same farm, one of them in idleness, or when eleven families are living off ten farms, with whose interests do those of the public lie?

In one county of Illinois, twenty per cent. of the farm lands are said to be owned by men who have never seen their properties because they live with other interests on the Atlantic seaboard, collecting rent through agents as they clip coupons from stock certificates.

It is said that the estate of Lord Scully is just now raising the rents of some hundreds of thousands of acres of our best prairie land to ten dollars an acre, or about two thousand per cent. annually of the original cost. Investments and betterments? Not a dollar! For the agent is instructed that if the renter wants a house or a pig pen, let him build it. No investments except in additional land. Here is a mare's nest for hatching trouble, and the tenants are already reported as organizing for resistance.

Nobody cares how large is the farm that one man operates—economic limitations will control, and the larger the better so far as the public is concerned. But when a man deliberately acquires not one farm but ten farms, not with the intention of occupying any of them or of producing anything, then the public will one day have something to say about the matter. It dare not do otherwise. We shall always have renters, but shall renting and landlordism become typical in the country as it is now in the cities? If so, in that direction lies trouble.

Specifically the public wants to know and it will one day inquire whether capital is invested in land from a desire to operate it or merely from a wish to live without labor and at the same time by speculation to grow rich upon the rise of real estate. In no other form are investments of moderate amounts of capital so influential for weal or woe, not only to men and families, but to the public at large, as are investments in land. For this reason, therefore, in one way or another, investments in land will one day be limited as to amount and prescribed as to conditions. In no other way can private ownership be preserved from the general wreck of Bolshevism certain to follow a bad land policy.

We all know what has been done in Russia and what is being done in Hungary. We know that England has been forced to control land ownership by limiting the conditions of inheritance, by progressive taxation, and by applying the principle of excess profits. Even so, one of the points insisted upon now by the British Labor Party is the nationalization of land.

Among the achievements necessary to insure the proper development of American agriculture whether from a private or a public point of view, the following at least are of sufficient significance to be considered as fundamental in a national policy.

First. Subsidization of country schools to an extent that will insure to every child born upon the farm the opportunity of a good high school education admitting to college, with choice of differentiation along agricultural, mechanical, commercial, scientific, or literary lines—and this without leaving the father's roof or breaking up the home and the business.

Second. Public recognition of the fact that the farmer is neither a capitalist nor a laborer, as the terms are understood in the commercial world, but a managing operator of a small business of which the home and the family are integral parts, and therefore entitled to stand in the public esteem as a typical democrat. not as a "rube," or even as an eminently useful laborer that should be contented with his lot.

Third. Recognition of the fact that the American farmer, as a typical citizen representing our largest and most fundamental industry, and as our greatest home-builder, is entitled to an income comparable with his labor, his investment, and his managerial skill.

Fourth. The assurance of this income, not by arbitrary price fixing in defiance of the economic law of supply and demand, not by force, but by conference between producer, distributor, and consumer.

Fifth. Requirement by law of minimum housing conditions upon rented farms, such conditions to be maintained under a system of adequate inspection.

Sixth. The obligation not only to maintain but to increase the fertility of land, this obligation to be equally binding upon landlord and tenant and enforced by public license.

Seventh. Recognition of the fact that as between the owner and the operator of the land, the sympathy and support of the public should be with the operator.

Eighth. Recognition of the fact that as between the owner-operator, the tenant, and the speculator, the sympathy and support of the public should be with the owner-operator as the typical farmer.

Ninth. The elimination from the public mind of the idea that tenantry is to be regarded in America as typical land occupancy or as the ideal road to ownership, theories for nationalization and mutualization of land to the contrary notwithstanding.

Tenth. The appropriation of public funds for financing young men in prospective ownership as soon as they shall have fully established a reputation for thrift and shall have accumulated say ten per cent. of the purchase price of productive lands.

Eleventh. The establishment of interest rates on funds loaned upon land for home-building purposes that shall be based upon those of the most favorable bond issues, not upon current banking rates for short term loans—rates that cannot be generally realized in farming and that ought not to be realized in the business of producing the staple foods.

Twelfth. Discouragement of speculation in land, by means of graduated taxation and if necessary by prohibiting the accumulation of large numbers of farms or other acquisition of land with no intention of occupancy; in other words, the absolute dissociation of real estate speculation from farming and from the production of the food of the people. If we are to retain the principle and practice of private ownership, we must not abuse the privilege.

Thirteenth. Recognition of agriculture in all its phases as a matter of deep public concern, whether regarded as the machinery for the production of the food of the people, or as the means of providing ideal conditions for the rearing of children.

Fourteenth. Finally, the determination to maintain upon the land the same class of people as are those who constitute the prevailing type among the mass of American citizens.

Granted that these or some similar principles are not only right but desirable, how may we best set about their realization in the form of a working National Policy? Upon this point there is interesting material for reflection in the methods by which we have arrived at other convictions that may fairly be called national.

Second only to the need of a new national policy regarding any important matter is the method by which in a democracy such new policy may be elevated from the plane of discussion into the realm of conviction and finally established as a permanent part of our national habit of thought. In this connection it is both interesting and profitable to note with some care the various and diverse processes by which our own particular and characteristic national policies have not only come into being but have developed sufficient strength to determine and to dominate the everyday life of the people.

For example, our fundamental doctrine that all men are equal in respect to their right of life and the pursuit of happiness, was declared and formally adopted in a document published to the world.

WHO IS THE FARMER[1]

A. M. SIMONS

If we are to select any particular section or type, which shall it be? Shall it be the New England Yankee wresting from his stumpy and rocky soil a niggard subsistence and swapping products with his neighbors? If so, when we seek him in his native states we shall find him displaced by French Canadians, Italians and Irish immigrants. If we follow up his children we shall hardly recognize them in the tillers of the broad prairies of the

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[1] Adapted from "The American Farmer," p. 15, Kerr, Chicago. (Copyright holder A. M. Simons.)

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLO

West with a mind and hospitality as wide and as fertile as the teeming soil beneath their feet. Or is the American farmer best typified by the early pioneer,—that strange combination of hunter, fisher, lumberman, farmer, trapper and scout, now well-nigh extinct, but to whom we owe Lincoln, the best and most typical American citizen? Or shall we find him in the South, amid the cotton, rice and sugar plantations? And if here, is he white or black—a member of ante-bellum aristocracy or "poor white trash"? If purity of American blood is to be the test, the latter will demand first consideration, for in few places is the foreign strain less present than among the moonshining, feud-fighting mountaineers of Kentucky and the Carolinas. Is he cowboy, rancher or sheep farmer on the Western plains? Or is the typical American farmer the resident of the great arid irrigated belt, a dependent upon a great water company, raising almost fabulous crops and receiving a beggarly return? Or is he the Slav, or Italian, or Dutch truck farmer of the city suburb, working beneath glass and aided by steam and electricity? Or shall we find him upon the dairy and stock farms of Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin? Or is he a fruit farmer, and if so is he in tropic or temperate climes? Is it all of these, or none, or part of each, or a composite picture of the whole that makes up the American farmer?

THE POINT OF VIEW IN COMPARISONS OF CITY AND COUNTRY CONDITIONS[1]

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

In view of this apparent change in the attitude of people toward the farm problem, it may not be idle to suggest some possible errors that should be avoided when we are thinking of rural society. The student will doubtless approach his problem fortified against some misconceptions—he probably has thoughtfully established his view point. But the average person in the city is likely to call up the image of his ancestral home of a generation ago, if he were born in the country, or, if not, to draw upon his observation made upon some summer vacation or on casual business trips into the interior. Or he takes his picture from "Shore Acres" and the "Old Homestead." In any case it is not improbable that the image may be faulty and as a consequence his appreciation of present conditions wholly inadequate. Let us consider some of these possible sources of misconception.

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[1] Adapted from "Chapters in Rural Progress," pp. 4–5. (Copyright by University Chicago Press, 1907.)

In the first place it is not fair to compare the country life as a whole with the best city conditions. This is often done. The observer usually has education, culture, leisure, the experience of travel, more or less wealth; his acquaintance is mostly with people of like attainments. When he fails to find a rural environment that corresponds in some degree to his own and that of his friends, he is quick to conclude that the country has nothing to offer him, that only the city ministers to the higher wants of man. He forgets that he is one of a thousand in the city, and does not represent average city life. He fails to compare the average country conditions with the average city conditions, manifestly the only fair basis for comparison. Or he may err still more grievously. He may set opposite each other the worst country conditions and the better city conditions. He ought in all justice to balance country slum with the city slum; and certainly so if he insists on trying to find palaces, great libraries, eloquent preachers, theaters, and rapid transit in rural communities. City life goes to extremes; country life, while varied, is more even. In the country there is little of large wealth, luxury, and ease; little also of extreme poverty, reeking crime, unutterable filth, moral sewage. Farmers are essentially a middle class and no comparison is fair that does not keep this fact ever in mind.

We sometimes hear the expression, "Country life is so barren; that to me is its most discouraging aspect." Much country life is barren; but much more of it is only relatively and not essentially so. We must admit that civilization is at least partially veneer; polish does wonders for the appearance of folks as well as of furniture. But while the beauty of "heart of oak" is enhanced by its "finish," its utility is not destroyed by a failure to polish it. Now, much of the so-called barrenness of country life is the oak minus the polish. We come to regard polish as essential; it is only relative. And not only may we apply the wrong standard to our situation, but our eyes may deceive us. To the uninitiated a clod of dry earth is the most unpromising of objects—it is cousin to the stone and the type of barrenness. But to the elect it is pregnant with the possibilities of seed-time and harvest, of a full fruitage, of abundance and content for man and beast. And there is many a farm home, plain to the extreme, devoid of the veneer, a home that to the man of the town seems lacking in all the things that season life, but a home which virtue, intelligence, thrift, and courage transform into a garden of roses and a type of heaven. I do not justify neglect of the finer material things of life, nor plead for drab and homespun as passports to the courts of excellence; but I insist that plainness, simple living, absence of luxury, lack of polish that may be met with in the country, do not necessarily accompany a condition barren of the essentials of the higher life.

Sometimes rural communities are ridiculed because of the trivial nature of their gossip, interests and ambitions. There may be some justice in the criticism, though the situation is pathetic rather than humorous. But is the charge wholly just? In comparing country with town we are comparing two environments; necessarily, therefore, objects of gossip, interests, and ambitions differ therein. We expect that. It is no criticism to assert that fact. The test is not that of an existing difference, but of an essential quality. Is not Ben Bolt's new top buggy as legitimate a topic for discussion as is John Arthur Smythe's new automobile? Does not the price of wheat mean as much to the hard-working grower as to the banker who may never see a grain of it? May not the grove at Turtle Lake yield as keen enjoyment as do the continental forests? Is the ambition to own a fine farm more ignoble than the desire to own shares in a copper mine? It really does not matter so much what one gossips about or what one's delights are or what the carvings on the rungs of ambition's ladder; the vital question is the effect of these things on character. Do they stunt or encourage the inner life? It must be admitted that country people do not always accept their environing opportunities for enjoying the higher life of mind and heart. But do they differ in this respect from their cousins of the town?

SOLDIER SETTLEMENTS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES[1]

ELWOOD MEAD

All English-speaking countries except the United States have passed special soldier settlement legislation and made appropriations therefor. Where good free land exists he is usually given assistance in the individual purchase of private land, or such private land is purchased by the State in blocks. In countries like England, New Zealand, Victoria, and New South Wales it is largely a question of resuming land.

When land-settlement boards do not already exist they have had to be created, except in the case of Ontario and some of the other Canadian Provinces, which are using their minister of lands, their agricultural, and forestry departments for this purpose.

Handling applications and placing soldiers is largely decentralized and in the hands of voluntary local committees.

The English and Canadian method of settlement is to establish central farms on which to try out crops, to employ and train settlers, stock them with animals and implements for the use of the settlers, and about these farms to lay out farm blocks of varying dimensions. The Australian plan is to follow the policy of closer settlement already laid down and so successfully prosecuted.

Explicit data concerning total appropriations are not available. The usual method is to start the work with a small appropriation and to add to it as required. In the case of Canadian Provinces and the Dominion, funds come from an appropriation for general development, probably derived from taxation; in England it is a disbursement from the treasury; in New Zealand and Australia the funds are derived wholly from the sale of bonds in the London market.

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[1] Adapted from Bulletin, Department of the Interior, U. S. Reclamation Service (1919).

In the two countries where a Federal Government exists, namely, Canada and Australia, tentative steps have been taken toward working out a coöperative plan the general nature of which is for the general Government to supply the land and to supervise its division, and maybe control. A general board has been appointed in each case and on which each of the states or provinces is represented. Undoubtedly when the period of demobilization approaches this plan in the case of Canada and Australia will be carried out in great detail.

Aid to the soldier takes a variety of forms. There are, first, the allowances which are given a soldier for himself and family in the probationary period of working and beginning of experience; under this head might be mentioned transportation which all of the countries offer the soldiers when they are traveling to training stations or to the land; second, either the giving of land or the pricing it to the soldier at the cost of purchase and subdivision; third, the supplying of advice, guidance and instructions by all countries; fourth, the supply of grading, farm tools and sometimes farm animals free or at cost (under this head may be mentioned the supply of seeds and fertilizers); fifth, credit advances for the taking up of mortgages and incumbrances, for clearing, leveling, and ditching of lands, for erection of fences, buildings, barns and houses, for the building of homes; sixth, assistance in the organization of coöperative buying and selling associations and the giving of whatever aid the State Governments ought to give in this direction.

In every instance the payments for the purchase of the land or for the reimbursement to the State for advances are stretched over a long period of time. The period of payment varies from 20 years, as in the case of Ontario, to 36½ years, which is the case in the Australian States. Advances for stock and developments are repayable in from 10 to 25 years. The interest charged is seldom more than ½ cent more than the interest paid on public securities.

In Canada freehold rights prevail. In England the perpetual lease predominates. In New Zealand both the lease and the freehold are given. In Australia some of the States, such as New South Wales, South Australia, and Queensland, do not give a freehold title. The occupier pays a rent of about 1½ per cent. of the capital value of the land and receives a perpetual lease which is inheritable and, under certain restrictions, transferable. The other States offer a freehold title or a lease. The governments of all these countries are not inclined to part with their grazing lands or lands that are suitable for further subdivisions. They are usually leased for short or long terms.

In nearly all cases, while the soldier is not legally required to maintain a residence, he can not lease his land or transfer it within a stated period and he can not meet his payments on the advances received unless he is giving his whole attention to his land. Residence, therefore, is practically assured.

The selection of soldiers and the advice they receive is largely in the hands of local committees in the case of Canada, England, and Australia. Such local committees are usually expected to give their advice in the selection of lands to be purchased by the State.

Some training of the soldier in agriculture, and some practical farm experience is always expected. Such training and experience are obtainable from three sources: Employment on farms, from agricultural colleges, or from farms associated with the colony enterprise.

The legislative acts in all countries are practically complete. The organization for the administration of the acts is largely completed. Some private lands have been purchased and public lands set aside by all the English-speaking countries.

It is not possible at this time to give a table of the amount of land so acquired.

THE FARMER IN RELATION TO THE WELFARE OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY[1]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

There is but one person whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole county as is that of the wage-worker who does manual labor; and that is the tiller of the soil—the farmer. If there is one lesson taught by history it is that the permanent greatness of any State must ultimately depend more upon the character of its country population than upon anything else. No growth of cities, no growth of wealth, can make up for a loss in either the number or the character of the farming population. In the United States more than in almost any other country we should realize this and should prize our country population. When this Nation began its independent existence it was as a Nation of farmers. The towns were small and were for the most part mere sea-coast trading and fishing ports. The chief industry of the country was agriculture, and the ordinary citizen was in some way connected with it. In every great crisis of the past a peculiar dependence has had to be placed upon the farming population; and this dependence has hitherto been justified. But it can not be justified in the future if agriculture is permitted to sink in the scale as compared with other employments. We can not afford to lose that preëminently typical American, the farmer who owns his own farm.

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[1] From "The Man Who Works With His Hands," U. S. D. A., Office of Secretary, Circ. 24. 1912.

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CHAPTER VI

SOME ECONOMIC INTERESTS

A. COÖPERATION

THE MORAL BASIS OF COÖPERATION[1]

THOMAS N. CARVER

So far as I know, everybody agrees that coöperation would be a good thing. Nevertheless, there is little coöperation as yet. If we all agree that it is a good thing, why do we not coöperate? This is a question which has puzzled many of us. I believe I have one or two suggestions which go pretty nearly to the root of the matter. The causes of this lack of coöperation are fundamentally moral, and we must attack the problem at this point before we can make much progress. All problems hang in clusters. You can't separate from our moral problems the economic problems that all hang on the same stem. I believe if you will look about your own neighborhood you will find that if you have a neighbor who is very careful about his own rights and your obligations, he is not an easy neighbor to work with. These two things mean the same. His rights are your obligations, his obligations are your rights. They are different names for the same thing, different sides for the same shield. Suppose you are the same way. You two will never get along together and work together in this world. A whole community made up of people of this kind will never coöperate. On the other hand, if your neighbor is very careful of his obligations and your rights, he is easy to get along with. And if you are very careful of your obligations and his rights, you are also easy to get along with. You two can work together peaceably and amicably. A whole neighborhood made up of people of that kind can work together and coöperate. Here is some work for the moral and religious agencies.

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[1] Adapted from "Proceedings of National Farmers' Congress," p. 191.

There is a story of an aged savage who, after having lived in civilized communities most of his life, returned in his old age to his native tribe, saying that he had tried civilization for forty years and it wasn't worth the trouble. Much of the philosophy of civilization is summed up in that remark. Civilization consists largely in making trouble. Genius, in the individual, has been said to consist in the capacity for taking pains in one's work. It is this capacity which marks the superior race as well as the superior individual. They who find the taking of pains too burdensome to be borne, will naturally decide that civilization is not worth the trouble. They who do not find it so very burdensome to take pains, will naturally decide that civilization is worth the trouble, and will therefore become civilized.

This principle applies to every stage of civilization and progress. The greatest advancement is made by those who are capable of taking the greatest pains. It applies especially to agricultural progress. It is more trouble to select than not to select seed, and to select it in the field than in the bin. It is more trouble to test cows than to not test them, to keep accounts than not to keep them, to diversify or rotate crops than not to diversify or rotate, to mix fertilizers intelligently than to buy them already mixed, to coöperate with one's pig-headed neighbors, especially if he himself is a little pig-headed, than to go to it alone. It is also more profitable. In all these and a multitude of other cases it is found that it pays to take trouble.

Suppose we can secure a higher development of these two moral qualities: first, the deep sense of loyalty and obligation to the neighborhood; and second, the willingness and capacity for taking trouble. Then I believe the coöperative movement among farmers would make rapid headway.

FARMERS' COOPERATIVE EXCHANGES[1]

ALEXANDER E. CANCE

Within the past few years very much has been said and written about the unprofitableness of agriculture, and on the other hand much complaint has been made of the high cost of living and the desperate straits of the consumer. Many causes have been advanced to account for this state of affairs, but probably none more frequently than the somewhat vague accusation that the middlemen take all the profits.

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[1] Adapted from Bulletin of the Extension Service, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, 1914.

It is asserted that the farmer must take what he is offered for his products and pay what he is asked for his supplies and equipment—that he fixes the price neither of what he sells nor what he buys. In a general way and considering farmers individually, this is undoubtedly true. When it is said that this is due to the machinations of predatory middlemen the statement needs some qualifications.

In the main, the system of middlemen has arisen and developed with the growth of farming for the market. As soon as farmers began to give up producing solely for themselves and to raise crops to sell, the question of means of disposal of crops became very important. One of the first middlemen was the local buyer, often the storekeeper, who took the farmer's produce, sold him dry goods, groceries and supplies, and in his turn passed the corn and eggs, feathers and honey, on to the user or manufacturer.

But division of occupations and industries resulting in the growth of cities and the concentration of population on the one hand and the call for more raw materials of agriculture on the other, gradually separated the countryman from the urban dweller geographically, commercially and socially. Commercially the division meant that the farmer must devote himself to growing crops and producing raw materials of food and clothing, that the manufacturer and artisan give themselves up to their vocations; hence of necessity there grew up a lot of marketmen, transporters, storage men, purveyors and the like, who made a business of getting goods from the farmer to the consumer and from the manufacturer to the farmer.

This body of men holds a strategic position which has been strengthened by combination, capital investments, natural and trade monopolies, and a beneficent Congress. It is not difficult to understand that they are powerful because they have by organization and superior bargaining ability come to dominate almost the entire trade in raw materials and manufactured products.

It is only natural that the middlemen should endeavor to increase their gains by buying cheap and selling dear, that they should specialize and multiply as the wants of consumers grow and the sources of supplies become more and more distant. The widening gap between the farmer and the users of the farmer's product makes a place for a large number of go-betweens.

Aside from the fact that these men are specialists in their various activities, that they furnish the money to store and distribute the products of producers, to find markets and facilitate trade, they have in many instances taken over all the marketing activities of the farmer. They often purchase apples upon the tree, pick them, grade them, pack them and ship them, severing all connection between the farmer and his product before his fruit is harvested. Differing somewhat in degree, the same may in many instances be said of tobacco, live stock, poultry, eggs, potatoes, grain, etc. The farmer buys his fertilizer and feed prepared, mixed, bagged, labeled, delivered by the retail dealer into his wagon and paid for by the dealer, who gives the farmer credit. The farmer is a producer of goods, nothing more. Possibly that is sufficient, but if so, he should be an intelligent producer, purchasing shrewdly and selling his produce at a reasonable margin of profit.

Now it is very evident that farm methods are improving; the farmer is a better producer than he was years ago. But it is also evident that much of the advantage he has gained through education, applied science, government aid, better equipment and more intelligent practice, has been altogether lost because he has not been able to dispose of his crop or to buy his supplies and equipments advantageously.

In some agricultural industries in the United States and almost everywhere in Europe, farmers have secured great financial advantages and acquired a keen sense of business by combining their interests, by buying and selling together. In some countries the results of coöperative business methods are marvelous. Denmark has become rich and world-famous, and little Ireland, for years known as the very poorest agricultural country in Europe, has made remarkable progress, simply because the farmers of these countries have learned to sell their products in a business-like way and buy their agricultural requirements together. They give their attention to production but they also see to it that their products are sold intelligently and wisely by their own paid agents. The farmer cannot very well learn all there is to know about any market but a hundred farmers can hire a marketing expert to handle their products and can afford to pay him a good salary out of increased returns that otherwise would go to a host of middlemen.

The market of to-day demands two or three very simple things of the producer. One of the first and simplest is that the quality of the product be dependable. The market desires such products as are of known quality, whether this quality be first, second or third. One great reason why farmers do not receive the highest price for their crops is that they have not learned to ship to the market uniform grades or qualities. When, for example, a barrel of apples is packed it is likely to contain apples of the first grade, second grade and culls; perhaps a large part of the barrel cannot be used at all. The second barrel may be just like the first or it may be something very different.

In the second place, the market demands a neat and uniform package. Every marketman in the country complains of the fact that farmers have little real business sense in the matter of putting up their products in packages. One finds potatoes coming into the market some in barrels, some in boxes, some in bags, some in other packages of every description and degree of decrepitude. A uniform, neat and tasty package suited to the commodity which it contains is a great factor in increasing the price of the product.

In the third place, the market wants products shipped regularly in quantities sufficient to supply the demand. It is no little matter to the marketman that he can get all the potatoes he wants one week and cannot get any the next. What he desires is, perhaps, a carload of potatoes every other day for six months and a carload every three days for the other six months. At any rate, it is essential that he receive his shipments regularly from the shipper.

These simple essentials—dependable goods, packed uniformly and neatly, well graded, shipped regularly in sufficient quantities to meet the demand, can hardly be supplied by the small individual farmer; and because they cannot be supplied in that way, the marketman and consumer naturally go to the jobber to get their goods. The jobber pays the farmer as small a price as he can and charges the consumer as high a price as he can for his costly services of packing, grading and distributing the product uniformly.

European farmers in England, Ireland, Denmark and other countries found themselves confronted with the same marketing conditions which the farmers of the United States have found. They struggled with it just as the farmers of the United States are struggling, but unlike the majority of the farmers of the United States, they struggled to some effect. The farmers of the Old World are small farmers. Not many of them produce more than a mere handful of products of any one sort. Some of them found themselves with no home market and were obliged to ship their products across the seas into foreign countries. Some of them found an organized opposition to the sale of their goods in other countries. Nevertheless, the European farmers in the countries mentioned found the way out by organizing themselves into small coöperative selling associations. By pooling their products they were able to facilitate their marketing because, in the first place, they were able to pack uniformly, supply the market sufficiently and regularly, and because of the supply which they controlled, they were able to meet successfully organized opposition to their interests.

No other poultry in the world is packed as well as Danish poultry; no other eggs are graded as well as Danish eggs; there is no bacon that commands a higher price than Danish bacon. This is true chiefly because Danish poultry, Danish eggs, and Danish bacon are skillfully packed, uniformly graded and shipped regularly under the guarantee of the shipper. It is known the world over that this coöperation has been the salvation of Danish agriculture, that the farmer of Denmark is to-day the most important man in his country and is important chiefly because he has known how to organize. It is said that the number of coöperative organizations in Denmark is four times the number of farmers; that is to say, on the average, each farmer in Denmark belongs to four coöperative organizations.

In Ireland and England coöperative buying and selling have not yet reached the perfection they have in Denmark. Nevertheless, the Irish farmer has for some years been selling his bacon, eggs and poultry on the markets of the world very successfully because he has been shipping them through his local coöperative societies.

The United States has lagged somewhat behind in the matter of coöperative endeavor among farmers; nevertheless, there are some examples of very successful coöperation even in our own country. Perhaps nowhere in the world is there a stronger selling organization than the California Fruit Growers' Exchange. The Exchange has passed through various vicissitudes and has met successfully the most serious opposition from railroads, commission men and other opposing interests. It is now so strongly entrenched in handling the citrus fruit of the Far West that it is a mere truism to say that without it citrus fruit growing on the Pacific Coast would be an utter failure.

The Hood River and other northwestern apple-shipping associations have been almost as successful in marketing apples as the citrus fruit men have in handling their California oranges. The Hood River apple growers have a world-wide reputation for neat and uniform packages of thoroughly dependable apples which are absolutely guaranteed to the consumer. These apples are packed by authorized inspectors and shipped by experts. They are sold on the markets of the world by agents of the fruit growers' association and all the returns for the apples go to the grower after deducting the charges of transportation and the services of agents employed by the association itself.

Moreover, the truck growers of the Atlantic Coast and the Gulf region have made use of associated selling for some years. The example of the Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange is most worthy of imitation. Beginning a few years ago with a number of disgruntled farmers who had been shipping their perishable products individually to the markets of Philadelphia and other cities, it has grown to be one of the strongest marketing associations in the United States, doing millions of dollars worth of business and putting upon the market products guaranteed by the Exchange in which the commission men and retailers have the utmost confidence.

These coöperative associations, in fact, are becoming more and more numerous wherever specialized products, usually of a perishable nature, must be put upon a market at some distance. Wherever they have been established successfully they have succeeded in bringing to the producer a higher price for his product, a cheaper charge for transportation, a more dependable and a wider market, and consequently an increased prosperity. On the other hand, the consumer has been able to get a product of standard and dependable grade at a price not exceeding very greatly, if at all, the price which he paid for a poorly graded product unreliable in quality.

Nowhere is it more true that "In union there is strength" than in the shipment of perishable products to commission men. The united farmers have been able to protect themselves in a way the isolated individual farmer could never hope to do, against commission men, transportation agencies, and other allied interests. The fact that they were able to choose between twenty or thirty different markets during the season gave them an added advantage in selling their products.

Coöperation among farmers in New England has never been very enthusiastically received although it must be said that several very successful farmers' coöperative societies, both for purchase and for sale of products, have been formed in our eastern states. Some of the alleged reasons for the lack of enthusiasm on the part of our New England farmers are first, the individualism of the farmer, his desire to do his own marketing and to make his own bargains, and perhaps his dislike of interfering in his neighbor's business or to permit his neighbor to interfere in what he considers private matters. As a matter of fact, the old independent farmer about whom so much has been said has practically gone out of existence. The farmer of to-day depends upon his market quite as much as the grocer does. His products are frequently prepared for market, shipped to market, handled by marketmen in precisely the same way as are the products of the manufacturer. Consequently the farmer is interested in the amount his neighbor sells and in the quantity the consumer in his marketing town purchases. He is interested in railroads, transportation, banking, and all means of exchange, and the markets of the world measurably affect him.

In the second place, it is said that the farmer has not sufficient business ability to conduct a coöperative organization. While this is true in a number of instances, it should not be true of the farmers of New England who are said to be as shrewd bargainers as any farmers in the world. The farmers of New England are intelligent and should be as enterprising and as capable of handling the coöperative associations as the farmers of Ireland, the farmers of Denmark or the farmers of Texas.

Another legitimate reason for the failure of coöperative organizations among farmers has been the fact that most organizations of farmers have had so many purposes that the real object of the association has become obscured. This has been one difficulty in the formation of business coöperative associations by the Grange. Again, too, a good many of these coöperative societies have failed because the members of them have had no common interest; a coöperative organization is a very simple thing but each should be composed of men who are bound together by some common interest. A large number of purposes or objects is likely to defeat the whole end and aim of a business enterprise.

One of the first essentials to successful coöperation is sufficient material in a given community with which to do a coöperative business.

On the other hand, for purposes of coöperation, it is altogether best that the coöperating area be rather small. It is much easier for a number of farmers in a small community to organize for purposes of purchase or sale than it is for the farmers scattered over a county or two counties to organize. Consequently intending coöperators might well consider the growing of one or two special crops by all the members of the coöperative association.

The third great essential to coöperation is loyalty. There is no use considering a coöperative society unless the members are loyal to the association even to the point of suffering some loss for the sake of keeping the association alive and prosperous. This loyalty is one of the most noticeable features of coöperative societies abroad and of successful coöperative societies in the United States. The members uphold their societies against all charges, furnish the required raw material even when the coöperative society pays them less than they could receive outside, and sometimes even when coöperative selling is not always as successful as individual selling.

The fourth essential is singleness of purpose. It is true that a great many of the coöperative societies in the United States both buy and sell but it is also true that most of these successful societies are organized either for buying or for selling only. A coöperative society should be organized to sell apples, or to buy feeds, fertilizers or other agricultural requirements, or to store cabbages or onions, and if these same farmers desire to coöperate with others for some other purpose they should form a second association.

The fifth essential is incorporation. Nearly every successful coöperative society in the United States and many abroad are incorporated under state laws. The incorporation of a society is a simple matter but very many fine results accompany it. In the first place, the management is a board of directors definitely provided for in the articles of incorporation. In the second place, an incorporated society cannot go out of business during the limit of time fixed by the articles of incorporation, whereas, a society organized otherwise may stop business at any time, frequently with disastrous results. In the third place, the members of an incorporated society are liable for the debts of the society only in proportion to the number of shares which they have taken; and finally, the incorporated society is subject to the inspection of the state and all its business must be conducted on approved business lines.

The sixth essential is paid, efficient management. A great many of our coöperative societies have gone to the wall because the management was inferior or because the management was in too many hands. The best societies in the United States, in fact almost the only societies that are successful, are those that have a single manager. Moreover, if this manager does any business at all and is at all capable he should be paid and well paid. Managers of some of the larger coöperative societies are paid remarkably good salaries. For example, the manager of one of the vegetable exchanges is receiving $10,000 a year.

The seventh essential is absolute publicity regarding the affairs of the society; this includes a full and complete oversight of the books, papers, and policies of the exchange by its members and, in addition, a careful supervision of the accounts at stated intervals.

Another essential to successful coöperation is that the business be done as far as possible on a cash basis. Extension of credit has been a rock on which a good many otherwise successful organizations have been wrecked beyond repair. The temptation to extend credit to members or to outside interests is very great, and though sometimes a credit business may be carried on very successfully, in general it is decidedly safer to make all business cash business. A corollary to this is that sufficient cash should be provided to carry on the work of the exchange effectively.

Finally, every coöperative association should be organized on strictly coöperative principles. A number of coöperative societies, both in this country and abroad, are merely joint stock companies, and some of them are operating more or less successfully. Nevertheless, there are some principles which are essential to the true spirit of coöperative endeavor and which, in the long run, give better financial and social results than others.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF COÖPERATION

The essential difference between a coöperative society and a joint stock company is this: A joint stock company is a combination of capital or shares. Capital is invested in the business and all the profits are supposed to accrue from the use of capital, consequently all profits are returned as dividends to the shareholders. It makes no difference whether the dividend be 2 per cent. or 20 per cent. or 200 per cent., it is distributed among the men who hold the shares.

Again, the men who hold the capital stock in a joint stock company are the men who do the voting. They do not vote as men, they vote as shares; the man who has ten shares has ten votes; he who has but two shares has two votes; the thought being that the more shares a man has the more powerful he should be in determining the policy of the company.

Now the principle of a coöperative society is fundamentally different. A coöperative society recognizes the need of capital but it also recognizes the fact that a reputable concern may obtain capital anywhere at the ruling rate of interest. The ruling rate of interest is now between 5 and 6 per cent. Why should a man who invests only his money in any business receive more than the 5 or 6 per cent. that is recognized as legitimate payment for capital, the rate that a bank will charge? So in a strictly coöperative society it is agreed that capital shall be paid merely the ruling rate of interest, say 6 per cent., and that all further profits shall be returned to the men who have supplied the business of the coöperative society, on the basis of the amount of business they have furnished. That is to say, in the coöperative creamery, the profits will be distributed among the members who have furnished milk to the creamery, in proportion to the amount of milk they have furnished. The man who has purchased shares will draw 6 per cent. on his capital investment, but the men who have been responsible for the success of the exchange will receive whatever profits there are in accordance with the amount of business they have done.

In the next place, the coöperative society is democratic; it is a union not of shares, but a union of individuals. Instead of allowing each share to have a vote, each man is given one vote. The principle is this: It is believed that each member, no matter what his contribution to the capital of the association, has as much right to vote concerning its policies as any other shareholder; just as a citizen, no matter how many children he has or whether he has any children at all, has a right to vote for school officers. In a democracy every man has a vote; so it is in a coöperative society. *One man, one vote.*

Further than this, the coöperative society recognizes that there should be a limitation on the amount of capital stock any man may control. Surely, in a coöperative society the capital should be contributed by members approximately according to the amount of business which each man expects to do with the society. If a coöperative society is established with 200 shares, it is quite legitimate to say that no member shall hold more than one-tenth of the total number or twenty shares. This keeps the shares well distributed and makes for democracy.

Another point of importance is the transfer of shares. It is ordinarily unwise to have men investing money in a coöperative concern in which they are not interested. A coöperative society, in the first place, should be formed of men who are interested in a particular line of coöperation. Consequently, when any member drops out and wishes to dispose of his shares, he should not be permitted to sell them to any person he pleases for, in that case, he might sell them to some person opposed to the interests of the coöperative society. Hence, the proviso that a member may not make a transfer of his shares that is not first approved by the board of directors.

These are the fundamentals upon which a coöperative society should be founded. If placed on this foundation, and the members remain loyal, success is reasonably assured.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF COÖPERATION IN EUROPE[1]

CHARLES O. GILL

THE expansion and magnitude of the coöperative movement are no more impressive than are its social effects. In mentioning these it is not intended to give the impression that in every community where there is a coöperative society all the good results are observable which are commonly attributed to coöperation. Doubtless large numbers of coöperators think chiefly of the reduced cost of their purchases, of the higher prices they have received for their products, or of other material benefits. But it is none the less true that in this economic movement the application to business of certain ethical principles of a high character has produced a variety of other good results which also are well worth consideration.

The good results of coöperation among the poor farmers in Europe are incalculably great. It has emancipated them from the usurer. In many places small farmers had never known freedom from oppressive creditors until the founding of rural coöperative institutions. By these they have been released from this bondage. Whole communities of people have been emancipated. By capitalizing the common honesty of the poor, coöperation has secured for the small farmer at the lowest rates of interest, money to be used by him for productive purposes while the time fixed for payment is well suited to his convenience and to the needs of his occupation. Agricultural coöperation in distribution has enabled the farmer to work for his own support instead of for the support of a large number of superfluous distributors who constituted an enormous burden resting upon his shoulders. Before the introduction of the coöperative system the small farmer in all business operations had been discriminated against. He had been forced to buy inferior goods at high prices and to sell his products at prices unreasonably low. Probably the farmer's business was the only one where products were sold at wholesale while its requirements were purchased at retail prices. But coöperation has changed all this. It has enabled the small farmer to place himself on a level with the large farmer in producing articles of good quality as well as in the matter of prices received for them. It has enabled the smallest holders to obtain at moderate prices goods of guaranteed quality. Thus while it promotes efficiency on the farm, coöperation secures freedom in the market and so contributes to the highest life in the home.

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[1] Adapted from Report of Commissions, pp. 127–143. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Missionary Education Movement of the U. S. and Canada, N. Y., 1916.

Agricultural coöperative societies engage in many benevolent enterprises for their members. The Raiffeisen banks in Germany, for example, support infant and continuation schools. They furnish the ordinary schools with maps, musical instruments and other equipment. They make grants to village libraries, organize circles for reading and acting and establish evening clubs and clubs for juvenile members. They conduct village institutes, build meeting halls and establish children's savings banks, telephone services and arbitration courts. They appoint local cattle shows and hold regular meetings at which instructive lectures on coöperation and agriculture and other topics are delivered. They form gymnastic societies and bathing establishments, cattle and poultry breeding societies, singing societies, local nursing centers, infant aid associations and anti-consumption leagues, and engage in other good works of great variety.

Not only does the increased prosperity of coöperators secure for them better education through the ordinary channels but the special facilities provided by the society, the training in doing coöperative business, together with mutual association under these favorable conditions, the close contact and association with the larger world which coöperation always assures, all result in intellectual development and help to increase the intelligence and add to the fund of general information of the cooperators.

It has been observed both in country and in city that coöperation has a most marked effect on the promotion of thrift. The coöperative society provides the farmer with the means of pursuing productive enterprises and consequently he engages in them. He gets out of debt and as a rule begins to save. In the urban movement it is often the case that the hard drinking laborer who is head of a wretched family is induced to trade with the coöperative society and finds in a few months that he has money to his credit drawing interest. It is likely that he has never had in his possession money enough to supply his family with food for a week in advance. But his accumulated savings give him hope and he is encouraged to save further. Many a man of this sort, whose original investment had been only a dollar and twenty-five cents, eventually has acquired as much as five hundred dollars. The condition of his family of course becomes greatly improved.

When a man begins to save, his money, instead of going into the dram shop, is invested in the coöperative institution. In the country as well as in the city the wastefulness and the evil effects of alcoholic intemperance become recognized and the influence of the coöperative society is thrown against it. In Dungloe, Ireland, the coöperative store is the only one in the village which does not sell spirituous liquors, though it is doing a larger business than any other drug store. In another place where the people wished to form a coöperative society and run a store for household goods the Irish Agricultural Organization Society refused assistance because the people who desired to cooperate thought it necessary to sell whiskey in order to hold their business in competition with the other stores, all of which engaged in the liquor traffic. In Austria and Hungary the priests are the more active in the promotion of the coöperative movement because the members spend their evenings in the cooperative society rooms instead of in the public houses. In Belgium the influence of the coöperative societies is strongly used in favor of abstinence from strong drinks. In nearly all the cafés and restaurants connected with the coöperative institutions spirits are not sold while customers are encouraged to drink light beer or non-alcoholic beverages. Thus the coöperative movement has become one of the strongest movements in the old world both in city and in country for the promotion of temperance.

One of the most marked effects of the movement is the promotion of business integrity. This is a matter of common observation and experience and is well known throughout the coöperative world. For example where there is a small rural coöperative credit society, a person ordinarily cannot borrow from it unless he has acquired a reputation for reliability. As a consequence a loan comes as a certificate of character, while a refusal of one may well be a cause of serious reflection on the part of the would-be borrower. As a result, people learn to care more for their character and reputation in their dealings with one another. It becomes manifest to all that honesty is an essential quality for business efficiency.

In agricultural coöperation high prices are secured only because the good quality of the produce is guaranteed by the society. Any member who fails to conform to the standard will be fined or excluded from its privileges. The consumer and the careful producer therefore are protected from loss resulting from the misrepresentation of the careless or dishonest producer. By making the producer more careful, much waste and injustice is avoided, while it is continually being demonstrated that a high standard of business morality in the individual is an asset both for himself and for his community.

The promotion of honesty by the coöperative movement comes also more directly through the atmosphere it creates. Coöperative business promotes what is called the coöperative spirit. It is a consciousness of brotherhood. Under its influence one does not wish to injure one's neighbor. Cheating and sharp practice are so out of place and altogether discordant with the coöperative spirit as to insure their infrequency.

The independence, courage and self-respect, induced by freedom from debt, material prosperity, thrift, and temperance are also increased by reason of membership in a firmly knitted self-help association of responsibility and power. In one community visited it was remarked to the investigator that you can tell a coöperator by his independent bearing. In more than one locality attention was called to the fact that on the part of the bankers and business men in their dealings with the small farmers and the poor people, there has been a marked disappearance of condescension and the air of favor and patronage. In parts of Ireland visited the respectful treatment on the part of others is keenly appreciated by the coöperators, while the system has caused a greater fellowship and better mutual understanding between the classes. There is a social and industrial leveling up which is satisfactory to all concerned.

All this points to the powerful influence of coöperation in the promotion of democracy. The coöperative movement was essentially democratic in origin. Both the original founders and the prime movers were mainly from the class most directly benefited. That the democratic principle is the basis of success in agricultural coöperation is proved by the fact that attempts of farmers to combine on other principles almost invariably have failed, while in cities no other industrial system has been attended with social results which are so satisfactory. True coöperation which alone can hope for enduring prosperity is founded on the principle of pure democracy.

The educational effect of the coöperative system is such as to give the wage earners a keen interest in public affairs and to cause them to realize their own power and responsibility in them. That the coöperators use this power intelligently may be seen in the large number of their representatives in the public bodies and the creditable manner in which they acquit themselves. It is confidently asserted that 70 per cent. of the coöperators are on the side of political progress. Coöperation is becoming one of the strongest aids to efficiency in political democracy.

It is the hope of most leaders in the coöperative movement that it will do much to make war less frequent. The coöperative alliances of different countries will undoubtedly increase their trade with one another. Already reference has been made to an international alliance of coöperators. The members of a great international business organization will understand the folly of going to war with one another. Among coöperators there is a minimum of mutual suspicion. With them the recognition of brotherhood and community of interest is a habit of mind. Add to this their increased intelligence, larger information, broader outlook, and increased political efficency, and we must recognize that the bonds which hold the people of the earth together in peace will be strengthened as the coöperative movement advances throughout the world.

The experience of the coöperative movement indicates that the application of right ethics to business results well, not only to business itself but to the character of those engaged in it and to all parts of the social fabric.

It was observed by members of the American Commission that in nearly all the European countries from Italy to Ireland "the great body of coöperators, especially among the leaders, think of agricultural coöperation as a sort of social reform and in some cases almost as a religion." The admirable moral and social results are recognized nearly everywhere. Not only has it taught illiterate men to read, made "dissipated men sober, careless men thrifty, and dishonest men square" but it has made friends out of neighbors who had always been enemies, while estrangements among men through religious antipathies and the inheritance of ancient feuds have yielded to its influence and have disappeared.

It is natural that sound principles of economic justice and the spirit of brotherhood should create enthusiasm in those who are engaged in the movement. In the coöperative enterprises therefore laborers are more contented, enjoy their work better and labor and live with more zest. Large numbers of capable executives are engaged in the movement at great personal sacrifice to themselves of time and money. Many men, because of the same spirit, are living in great frugality though rendering invaluable service. Frequently organizers of coöperative societies in whole hearted devotion live on the lowest possible salaries, suffering hardships and prolonged absence from congenial homes. The Agricultural Organization Society in Ireland impressed the investigator as a Christian institution quite as really as did the churches in that country. The movement in the vicinity of Dungloe, Ireland, has an atmosphere like that of a Christian missionary enterprise in its pioneer stage of development. In two other places in Donegal, Ireland, two meetings attended were like religious services. The coöperative movement in the vicinity of the Temple Crone Society is regarded by the people as divinely inaugurated, inspired, directed and sustained.

It could scarcely be expected that a movement with such beneficial results could have been inaugurated and successfully furthered apart from close association with the Christian churches. In many of the coöperative enterprises it was found that the clergymen have played an important part.

B. OWNERSHIP AND TENANCY

TENANT FARMING[1]

JOHN M. GILLETTE

There is a tendency somewhat pronounced toward the operation of farms by tenants rather than by the owners. The owners ceased operation to the extent of almost ten per cent., in the twenty years between 1880 and 1900, and tenantry was substituted. The results appear to ensue chiefly from three causes. First, the investment in farm lands by city residents—generally in proximity to their municipality, and second, from the retirement of well-to-do farmers into the neighboring city or village. Third, a larger period is required to save money with which to buy a farm than was previously the case. As a consequence, each successive generation of farmers must remain longer in the tenant class.

The tendencies in the United States are not decisively toward extended consolidation and enlarged holdings. In the regions where the enlargement is most noteworthy, it is apparently due to the operation of causes other than the advantage in production which arises from large holdings. Quick and large rises in land values, as in Iowa and Illinois, have induced multitudes of owners to sell out and go to newer regions in the United States and Canada where several times the amount they owned can be purchased for what they received. In the Southeastern States it is the outcome of the dependency of agriculture on an ignorant, colored, labor population.

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[1] Adapted from "Constructive Rural Sociology," pp. 130–137, by permission, copyright 1913, 1916, by Sturgis & Walton Company, N. Y. Copyright now held by The Macmillan Company.

Further, it is likely that when the possibility of procuring cheap land in the United States and Canada has passed farmers in the improved agricultural regions will cease to sell to neighboring farmers. When this point is reached, and when, also, estates begin to be divided among the descendants of present farmers, we may expect to see the cessation of the consolidation tendency and the development of small and intensive farming.

Farms are almost always leased in Great Britain. In France 77.6 per cent., and in Germany 83.6 per cent. of the farmers own all or a part of their farms, while in the United States 35.3 per cent. are tenants.

There are two opposing views as to the effects of tenant farming and small proprietorship.

1. Young and Mill held that small proprietors form the basis of individual prosperity, independence, and well being. Young, who traveled through Europe in 1787-8, and who believed in large agriculture, testified that while there was much poor farming on small properties, "yet the industry of the possessors was so conspicuous and meritorious that no commendation would be too great for it. It was sufficient to prove that property in land is, of all others, the most active instigator to severe and incessant labor." He thinks the way to get mountains farmed to the very top is to let them out as property to small owners.

Mill reviewed the facts and literature of the continental method of small holdings as opposed to the English practice of large estates in his attempt to get England to see the mistake and loss incident to its practice. He believed the evidence proved that peasant properties conduced to the moral and social welfare of the laboring class by increasing their industry to what a Swiss statistical writer described as "almost superhuman industry"; that territorial arrangement is "an instrument of popular education." "The mental faculties will be most developed where they are most exercised; and what gives more exercise to them than the having multitudes of interests, none of which can be neglected, and which can be provided for only by varied efforts of will and intelligence?''

Small proprietorship is ''propitious to the moral virtues of prudence, temperance, and self-control.'' Laborers are liable to spend their entire wage. ''The tendency of peasant proprietors, and of those who hope to become proprietors, is to the contrary extreme; to take even too much 'thought for the morrow' ''; to be penurious. Even among the pleasure-loving French people of the agricultural sort ''the spirit of thrift is diffused through the rural population in a manner most gratifying as a whole, and which in individual instances errs rather on the side of excess than defect.''

Mr. Mill further holds that small holdings would not interfere with the desirable and much needed purpose on the part of the workers to exercise prudence and restraint in the increase of population. Some writers had held that peasant proprietors would be likely to multiply up to the limits of food production and thus force a minute subdivision of land. Mr. Mill believes that without education and habituation into the exercise of prudence the land proprietors, like other workers, would increase in number up to the food limits. But that if indoctrinated—like their urban brothers—they would exercise due restraint. Furthermore, he marshals facts from Switzerland, Norway, Prussia, and other continental countries to demonstrate that peasant proprietorship not only did not evoke over-population but rather checked it.

Concluding his chapters on peasant proprietors he says:

''As a result of this inquiry into the direct operation and indirect influences of peasant properties, I conceive it to be established that there is no necessary connection between this form of landed property and an imperfect state of the arts of production; that it is favorable in quite as many respects as it is unfavorable, to the most effective use of the powers of the soil; that no other existing state of agricultural economy has so beneficial an effect on the industry, the intelligence, the frugality, and prudence of the population, nor tends on the whole so much to discourage an improvident increase of their numbers; and that no existing state, therefore, is on the whole so favorable, both to their rural and their physical welfare. Compared with the

English system of cultivation by hired labor, it must be regarded as eminently beneficial to the laboring class. French history strikingly confirms these conclusions. Three times during the course of ages the peasantry have been purchasers of land; and these times immediately preceded the three principal eras of French agricultural prosperity."

2. The other view is that effective farming in the future can only be done by a system of large properties and tenant renters whose rights are protected by legal provision. It is held that the capital which needs to be invested in machinery and equipment in order to make farming competitively profitable and possible cannot be provided by small owners. They will be forced to sell to capitalistic owners who can make the large investments needed. Moreover, the fall in prices places a shock on the landlords and farmers which is not felt by other callings in the same manner. Small proprietors have nothing to shield them from the shock and must give way to men of larger resources.

It would seem that recent events and the spirit of present times is in favor of the position held by Mill. The progress that is being made in agricultural development in Europe and Great Britain is most conspicuous just where the larger estates are being broken up, parceled out, and vested in numerous small proprietors. This is notably the case in Ireland and in Denmark and in both countries farming and dairying have made prodigious progress, and in both the consequences have been of the best for the character and intelligence of the citizenship. New interest in life, renewed industry, progressive and coöperative undertakings, enriched social and moral life, have been the results.

Of much importance to rural sociology is the effect on rural social life of absentee landlordism and of tenant farming. The economic effects of absentee landlordism with its attendant abuses has had historic examples. Perhaps the most notable recent one has been that of Ireland. The profits of the large estates were spent abroad, draining Ireland of its productive capital; the best land of large estates was turned into pasture land; and when tenants made improvements on farms to enlarge the production the rents were systematically raised to absorb the reward of initiative and industry. Consequently a premium was placed on neglect, shiftlessness, drunkenness, and social squalor, and agricultural Ireland was emigrant as to its best and most vigorous element, decadent economically and socially, and rapidly increasing in pauperism and insanity. The various Land Purchase Acts passed by Parliament revolutionized Irish society, for it was mostly agricultural and rural. Small estates could be purchased on one hundred year payments. Buildings and sanitation were fostered. Agriculture and education were promoted. Coöperative undertakings took root. As a consequence the inhabitants are becoming thrifty, industrious, interested in their own community affairs, temperate, and a larger life is full of promise.

In America social degeneration due to tenancy has been noted. Absentee landlordism visits on the given region heavy economic injuries. The tenant who keeps up the buildings, grounds, fences, and fertility of a farm as he would were he owner is rare indeed. No doubt juster laws and more progress in scientific agriculture would form a basis for the correction of some of these matters. Now the tenant sees no profit in the upkeep of the farm. He believes he obtains the greatest advantage in getting the largest returns with the least effort. Could just returns for his efforts be secured the results would be better.

But the economic phase is less important than the social. The community interests are at stake, and are put in jeopardy wherever a neighborhood is given up to renters dominantly. This fact has been observed frequently. Strong spoke of it in his "New Era" many years ago. It has received passing attention now and then since that time. Near Syracuse, New York, (1894), life in certain tenant communities seemed pathetic. Church, school, and home indicated systematic neglect. In north central Kansas (1895) renters exercised neither interest nor influence in community matters. Observations in Montgomery County, Illinois, (1901-1903), resulted in the belief that schools and churches were declining under tenant conditions. Resident owners recognized and deplored the fact. Observers in North Dakota report similar conditions wherever renting predominates.

As an accompaniment of the neglect of church and school the moral and cultural tone of the neighborhood sink low. Coöperative ethical activities of country districts usually reside with the church. The larger cultural and social outlook associate themselves with church and school and are products of their life. Immorality, vulgarity, low ethical ideals, insufficiency of informational and esthetic agencies and outlets result from irresponsibility and transiency.

SOME ADVANTAGES OF TENANCY[1]

W. O. HEDRICK

THE public has become interested only recently in the size of businesses generally, but since 1890 our census bureau has collected statistics relative to the size of farms. Speaking generally, the public cares not at all whether factories and stores and railroads are rented or are owned by their operators, but it has given much attention to the ownership and rental tenures of land since 1880.

The curious fact is revealed by the last census enumeration (1910) that it is the very large farm which has been notable during the past ten years. The farms of from 500 to 999 acres have had second place in growth of numbers, have exceeded all others in absorbing total farm area, have exceeded all others in enlarging improved acreage per farm, have shown the biggest increase in value of total farm property of any class, were second greatest in increased building valuation, have had greatest increase in machinery valuation and third greatest in livestock increase. The relatively small number of these farms, however, robs this record of much significance in characterizing American farm sizes.

With regard to landlordism and tenantry, the same motive which is relied upon by society to secure effective farm handling, that is, "self interest," is the very one which stimulates tenants to rent farms. The farm business requires a combination of several factors—notably land, labor, and equipment—for its best success. The extremely high price of all these elements renders it sometimes necessary that two enterprisers should combine their factors, one furnishing land, the other labor and equipment, and we have, therefore, the landlord and tenant relation. Farm-management studies show almost invariably that tenant farmers make good labor incomes, and no little care should be taken in disturbing a system not adverse to public policy which with all its faults is distinctly profitable to the farmer.

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[1] Adapted from Publications American Sociological Society, Vol. 11: 94–96, Dec., 1916.

Country-life improvement may indeed be hindered in its coöperative aspect by the presence of the shifting tenant, but an even more fundamental wrong may be done by striking at the productivity of agriculture itself in the attempt to eliminate this sort of farmer. Commonly it is assumed that tenancy is a stepping-stone to ultimate land ownership. The young farmer or the needy farmer may come to own a farm through a preliminary period spent as a tenant farmer, or he may attain full ownership through the mortgage-indebtedness route. Comparing only the more superficial features of these two methods of reaching the same end and we have the following results. Through having the stimulus to industry which comes from ownership and through directing his business at will, the mortgagor is advantaged, but he is limited in his farm operations through having invested his capital in land. On the other hand, the tenant leaves to the landlord the burden of carrying all the unproductive farm parts, such as buildings, fences, lanes, wood lot, etc. He is further advantaged through putting all his capital into livestock and equipment, thus being enabled to operate to the maximum of profitableness. He gains nothing, however, by the appreciation in value of land.

The suppression of tenancy restricts the young farmer or the impecunious farmer to alternatives which may prove hurtful from the business standpoint. The going in debt for a full-sized farm, as we have seen, is likely to leave the farmer short-handed in the means for the operation of this farm. Another alternative is the little farm—one which he is able to pay for and yet have some means left over—but every study of the little farm has convinced the student of the utter unprofitableness of this style of farming. Farm machinery is standardized in size to the needs of the full-sized farm; a profitable number of labor hours for man or team can be found only upon the full-sized farm. Insufficient variations of enterprises and too high costs in overhead expenses are only a few of the many reasons given for the unprofitableness of the small farm.

The sharing of the expenses of carrying on a farm business between two parties, one furnishing the land factor and the other the labor and equipment, has afforded a successful farm business in the past and still has merits for the future. We find nothing to justify the belief that the landlord's share is to grow larger to the disadvantage of the tenant through the income-absorbing power of land. Landlords will doubtless always secure the returns which are possible to them through owning advantageous differentials in land. The differentials tend to become accentuated with the increase in price of farm products, but the means have not yet been shown whereby the landlord may wrest away from the renter any share to which this renter is properly entitled.

Tenancy, it may be said in conclusion, has stood the test of experience. We do not mean by this every tenancy system—absentee landlordism, or rack renting, for example—but good systems have survived. The greatest system of farming in the world measured by the test of endurance is a tenant system. English farming, where all but 4 or 5 per cent. are tenants, has given us our leading types of livestock, our best farm practices, such as marling, drainage and rotations and the measure in acres of our customary farm. On the other hand, among the farm-owning peasants of Continental Europe (other than the extremely recent notion of coöperation) scarcely a single fruitful farm notion has developed. Few farm animals or practices have been originated. Women customarily do the farm work and the peasant himself is frequently unable to speak the language of the country in which he lives. The test of a system of agriculture is the character of its professional representatives, and without doubt the British farmer, though a tenant, ranks high among farmers everywhere. The constantly enlarging growth in numbers of population in this country makes ever-increasing demands upon the output from the farms. This inevitably leads to intensive cultivation with all its expensiveness in land, equipment, and labor. It seems almost unthinkable under these circumstances that a normal tenancy system should not develop here as in England.

AGRARIAN ARISTOCRACY AND POPULATION PRESSURE[1]

E. C. HAYES

The agricultural sections of America have in general by no means reached that balance between population and resources which tends ultimately to establish itself. They are in a period of transition. The coming changes will offer opportunity for great improvements, but they will bring with them one great danger, namely, that of too rigid social stratification.

At first sight such stratification seems inevitable. Omitting qualifications, this tendency may be thus stated: when land becomes worth hundreds of dollars per acre, as it already has in certain sections, the landless youth can seldom, if ever, succeed in buying a farm, and if he remains in the country must be a tenant or a hired laborer. On the other hand, those who own land will be in a position to buy more. Thus ownership of land may be expected to concentrate and the number of landless dwellers in the country to increase. This tendency will be strongest where land is most productive and most valuable, and therefore hardest for the landless to purchase, and at the same time requiring the employment of a large number of hands to tend its heavy crops. The application of scientific methods to agriculture which will be necessary to make the best lands pay for their cost requires capital, and this will put an additional obstacle in the way of the landless youth and add to the tendency created by the high cost of land to develop a small body of wealthy agrarian aristocrats with a large body of tenants or paid farm hands.

There are, however, three counteracting tendencies. First, the more intensive the agriculture, the smaller the number of acres which the landless youth must buy in order to become independent and to support a family. The increased price of good land and the demand for fine fruits, vegetables and meats may be expected to force a more intensive cultivation, which makes fewer acres suffice for the maintenance of a household. So long as wasteful, extensive modes of cultivation prevail, the growth of cities clamoring for food and raw materials powerfully tends to increase both ''the cost of living'' and the monopoly of land. It is true that intensive agriculture by increasing the productivity of the land tends to increase its price. But in intensive agriculture the part played by labor is greater and the proportional part played by land is less, so that the land values do not increase as rapidly as does the product, and there is a gain in position to those who contribute the labor required for production.

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[1] Adapted from "Introduction to the Study of Sociology," Appleton, N. Y., pp. 47–50.

Whether the rural population is made up of independent farmers or of tenants and hired laborers, increase in the number of those who dwell in the country and maintain a high standard of living there, is dependent upon the increase of manufacturing cities, either of the same nation or abroad, to absorb their product of food and raw materials. Thus the high rate of urban increase is favorable to intensive agriculture, and to the increase of rural population in numbers and prosperity.

A second and more important qualification of the tendency to form an agrarian aristocracy and proletariat is found in the absence of laws of primogeniture and the wish of parents, as testators, to divide their holdings among their children.

A third counteracting tendency is in the fact that in the long run farming land is worth more to the man who cultivates it than to any one else, because it gives him a steady job, independent of the will of any employer. The price of farming land contains at least three elements: first, a sum which if invested at interest would yield annually an amount equal to the rental of the land; second, a price paid for the expected unearned increment; third, a sum paid by the purchaser for the opportunity of independent self-employment. In time the second element will dwindle, for there will no longer be so great an expectation of unearned increment; indeed, that expectation might largely be extinguished by taxation, as the next paragraph will show. Then, unless land be valued as a basis of social prestige, or for some other extraneous consideration, the third element will tend to become the decisive factor in its ownership, for it will raise the price of land above the capitalized value of its rental, and only he who values it as an opportunity for independent self-employment can afford to pay this third element in the price of land.

An artificial barrier to the concentration of land in large holdings would be the heavy taxing of unearned increments. The motive for land purchases by the wealthy who do not farm is largely the hope of enjoying the unearned increment which is resulting from population increase, improvements in transportation and general progress. Deeds might be required to state the true price paid, and the proof of fraud in the statement might invalidate the deed. The purchasers would then have two strong motives for having the price correctly recorded, first, in order to get a valid title, and second, because whenever in the future the purchaser became a seller it would be advantageous to him to have had the full price recorded, since it would be the only amount which he could receive untaxed. On the other hand, he would not overstate the price lest he invalidate the title, and the seller would not allow it to be overstated, if there had been an increment since the previous transfer, because the seller is taxed on that increment. If the actual price at successive sales were recorded the unearned increment could readily be taxed.

To cheapen land by taxing the unearned increment, and rendering it unattractive to speculators, would tend to make it more valuable to the man who would labor on it than to any one else, and so to distribute it among independent farmers in holdings no larger than they could properly cultivate.

C. ADULT LABOR

THE INFLUENCE OF MACHINERY ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE[1]

H. W. QUAINTANCE

The social conditions resulting from the use of machinery are even more difficult to trace than are the economic. Yet, even here, some measure of the truth may be indicated with approximate certainty. Whatever the social conditions of a people may be at any given time, they are largely the product of wealth and intelligence. That the farmers of the United States have advanced in material welfare has already been shown, and this advance has been, and is, a prerequisite to intellectual growth and social attainment. For, "as long as every man is engaged in collecting the materials necessary for his own subsistence, there will be neither leisure nor taste for the higher pursuits." That the use of machine power stimulates mental growth and activity, even in the operator himself, is too clear to require demonstration, for the men who work most with machines are among those properly classed as the most intelligent.

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[1] Adapted from Cyclopedia of American Agriculture, Vol. IV: 110–113. (Copyright, 1909, by The Macmillan Company.)

It has been noted that, principally as a result of the introduction of farm machinery, the agricultural population of the United States decreased from 47.6 per cent. of the total population in 1879, to 35.7 per cent. in 1900. The urban population classes have increased, of course, by the same amount.

Among those who have continued on the farms, socialization has become a struggle for place against greater and constantly increasing odds; and this, too, in spite of the fact that not only the general level but also that of the lower classes is much higher than before. If we look to the proprietor, or independent class of farm workers, we shall find a great difference between the farmers of the period just before the introduction of machinery and the farmer of to-day. The life of the farmer was characterized by isolation. Coöperation was largely limited to house-raisings and husking-bees, and these were so infrequent as to be real social events.

Self-sufficiency is no longer the ideal. The farmer has become a specialist, devoting himself to particular branches of farm work, as stock-raising; dairying; potato-, corn-, or wheat-culture; or to the raising of fruits, vegetables, cotton, or tobacco, having in mind to secure the other things for which he has need by means of exchange. The farmhouse is no longer isolated. Good roads, the free delivery of mails, the telephone and the electric car lines bring the farmhouse into the very suburbs of the city.

The home is supplied with conveniences undreamed of by farmers of fifty years ago. The farmer and his wife are no longer to be set aside as "from the country." They are people of consequence, and their voices are heard in institutes, in clubs, federation meetings, and at the polls—the man everywhere and the woman also in some states. What they say is listened to with respect due to one who knows whereof he speaks. The farmers are coming forward also as members of the state legislature and as governors of states; and many of those who lead in the national affairs are proud to claim some farmstead as the place of their early training. They are practical politicians, and if less crafty, are less unscrupulous than their associates from the cities.

But there is another phase of farm life the social import of which must not be overlooked. Along with the increasing wealth, home comforts and influence of the proprietor class, there has been an increase also in the material welfare and general intelligence of farm laborers. But where machine power is used, the laborers have not advanced as rapidly as have the proprietors.

During the twenty-year period, from 1880 to 1900, the farm-laborer class, in all the states, increased 35 per cent. The farm-proprietor class increased 34.2 per cent. Taking the country as a whole, these classes were evidently keeping a fairly equal pace. But, turning to the seven leading cereal-producing states, —those especially using complex and expensive machinery,—we find the population was distributed as follows:

	1900	1880
Proprietors	1,073,911	836,969
Agricultural laborers............	631,740	363,233

The farm-proprietor class here increased 28 per cent., but the farm-laborer class increased 74 per cent. In 1880, the laborer class constituted only 30.3 per cent. of the total pupulation engaged in agriculture in these seven states; but, in 1900, this class constituted 37.1 per cent. of the population. The difference, 6.8 per cent.. represents a loss of 115,984 persons from the farm-proprietor class and an addition of that number to the farm-laborer class.

The reasons for unequal growth of these two classes of the agricultural population is not deeply hidden. It is the greater advantage that the possessor of a machine has over another who has only his hands. The farm laborers of to-day, like the workmen in the factories, are being more and more separated from the proprietors whom they serve. These classes understand each other less and tend more and more to become as lords and proletariat. The larger farms, moreover, are passing out of the hands of resident owners and, like factories, are being run by managers whose primary duty is to return profits.

The more intelligent of the farm laborers, those who must be depended upon to operate the machines, fare very well; but the ignorant and the unskilled are probably as ill-conditioned now as before the introduction of machinery.

The decadence, or disintegration of the agricultural population due to the use of machinery, is evident even in the proprietor class itself. The group (of states) showing the highest percentage of decrease (from farm ownership to tenancy) is composed of those states in which large farms and costly machinery are plainly the characteristic feature. It contains, in fact, the seven leading cereal-producing states of the country. The rate of decline from ownership to tenancy is nearly four times as rapid in the states where much machinery is used as in the states where comparatively little machinery is used.

THE AGRICULTURAL ELEMENT IN THE POPULATION [1]

EUGENE MERRITT

In practically all countries where the number dependent upon agriculture is known, they form a decreasing proportion of the total population. Wherever a comparison of the male agricultural workers with the total males gainfully employed is available, the agricultural workers form a decreasing proportion of the total. Thus is released to engage in other occupations a corresponding percentage of the total workers. Apparently the principal reasons for this decreasing percentage are that the agricultural element in the population is becoming more efficient and that in the readjustment or changes in the methods of producing and distributing agricultural products, the agricultural people now perform a smaller part of the complete operations than was the case formerly. For example, cheese was manufactured in the home; now it is a factory product. There is a smaller proportion of meat slaughtered and cured on the farm than formerly. Farmers perform a smaller part of the hauling of farm produce to market because the railroads more thoroughly cover the country.

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[1] Adapted from Publications of the American Statistical Association, March, 1916, pp. 50–65.

Many persons, in calling attention to the decreasing proportion of the population living in rural districts, feel that this is a national calamity. Indeed if it should happen that an increasing proportion of our people were found on farms it would be a sure sign that our agricultural people were losing their efficiency and should be cause for alarm. If conditions in the United States were similar to those in China there would be between 70 and 75 per cent. of the population engaged in agriculture or dependent on it for their subsistence, whereas in the United States in 1910, only 35 per cent. were so engaged. In other words, the agricultural element in the population of the United States is twice as efficient as the agricultural element in the population of China, to say nothing of the difference in the standards of living of the population of China and that of the United States.

The evidence of the fact that the agricultural element in the population of the United States is becoming more efficient is abundant. The per capita crop production based on total population increased 30 per cent. between 1856 and 1915, while the percentage that the males engaged in agriculture formed of those engaged in all occupations decreased from 50 to 35 per cent. in the last 30 years. In other words, we are producing more crops per capita and use a smaller percentage of our total population for the purpose.

Thus it is evident that the reason for the decreasing percentage of all peoples found in rural districts and the migration of young men and women from our farms, is that as the agricultural element in the population becomes more efficient, a smaller percentage of them is needed on farms and they have to seek employment in the non-agricultural industries.

The higher death rate, age for age, in urban districts depletes the ranks of the workers so that the rural peoples are called upon not only to furnish raw material to feed and clothe the nations, but to fill up the ranks of the city workers and to contribute to the supply of labor demanded by our growing industries.

A POINT OF VIEW ON THE LABOR PROBLEM [1]

L. H. BAILEY

It is a general complaint in the United States that there is scarcity of good labor. I have found the same complaint in parts of Europe, and Europeans lay much of the blame of it on America because their working classes migrate so much to this country; and they seem to think we must now be well supplied with labor. Labor scarcity is felt in the cities and trades, in country districts, in mines, and on the sea. It seems to be serious in regions in which there is much unemployed population. It is a real problem in the Southern States.

While farmers seem now to complain most of the labor shortage, the difficulty is not peculiarly rural. Good farmers feel it least; they have mastered this problem along with other problems. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether there is a real labor shortage as measured by previous periods; but it is very difficult to secure good labor on the previous terms and conditions.

The supposed short labor supply is not a temporary condition. It is one of the results of the readjustment and movement of society. A few of the immediate causes may be stated, to illustrate the nature of the situation.

1. In a large way, the labor problem is the result of the passing out of the people from slavery and serfdom—the rise of the working classes out of subjugation. Peoples tend always to rise out of the laboring-man phase. We would not have it otherwise if we desire social democracy.

2. It is due in part to the great amount and variety of constructive work that is now being done in the world, with the consequent urgent call for human hands. The engineering and

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[1] Adapted from "The Country Life Movement in the United States," pp. 134–148. Macmillan, 1911.

building trades have extended enormously. We are doing kinds of work that we had not dreamed of a half-hundred years ago.

3. In some places the labor difficulty is due to the working-men being drawn off to other places, through the perfecting of industrial organization. The organization of labor means companionship and social attraction. Labor was formerly solitary; it is now becoming gregarious.

4. In general, men and women go where things are "doing." Things have not been doing on the farms. There has been a gradual passing out from backward or stationary occupations into the moving occupations. Labor has felt this movement along with the rest. It has been natural and inevitable that farms should have lost their labor. Cities and great industrialism could not develop without them; and they have made the stronger bid.

5. In farming regions, the outward movement of labor has been specially facilitated by lack of organization there, by the introduction of farm machinery, by the moving up of tenants into the class of renters and owners, by lack of continuous employment, by relatively low pay, by absence of congenial association as compared with the town. Much of the hired farm labor is the sons of farmers and of others, who "work out" only until they can purchase a farm. Some of it is derived from the class of owners who drift downward to tenants, to laboring men, and sometimes to shifters. We are now securing more or less foreign-born labor on the farms. Much of this is merely seasonal; and when it is not seasonal, the immigrant desires to become a farm owner himself. If the labor is seasonal, the man may return to his native home or to the city, and in either case he is likely to be lost to the open country.

There is really no "solution" for the labor difficulty. The problem is inherent in the economic and social situation. It may be relieved here and there by the introduction of immigrants or by transportation of laborers at certain times from the city; but the only real relief lies in the general working out of the whole economic situation. The situation will gradually correct itself; but the readjustment will come much more quickly if we understand the conditions.

As new interest arises in the open country and as additional values accrue, persons will remain in the country or will return to it; and the labor will remain or return with the rest. As the open country fills up, we probably shall develop a farm artisan class, comprised of persons who will be skilled workmen in certain lines of farming as other persons are skilled workmen in manufactures and the trades. These persons will have class pride. We now have practically no farm artisans, but solitary and more or less migratory workingmen who possess no high-class manual skill. Farm labor must be able to earn as much as other labor of equal grade, and it must develop as much skill as other labor, if it is to hold its own. This means, of course, that the farming scheme may need to be reorganized.

Specifically, the farm must provide more continuous employment if it is to hold good labor. The farmer replies that he does not have employment for the whole year; to which the answer is that the business should be so reorganized as to make it a twelve months' enterprise. The introduction of crafts and local manufactures will aid to some extent, but it cannot take care of the situation. In some way the farm laborer must be reached educationally, either by winter schools, night schools, or other means. Every farm should itself be a school to train more than one laborer. The larger part of the farm labor must be country born. With the reorganization of country life and its increased earning power, we ought to see an increase in the size of country families.

The real country workingmen must constitute a group quite by themselves. They cannot be organized on the basis on which some other folk are organized. There can be no rigid short-hour system on a farm. The farm laborer cannot drop his reins or leave his pitchfork in the air when the whistle blows. He must remain until his piece of work is completed; this is the natural responsibility of a farm laborer, and it is in meeting this responsibility that he is able to rise to the upper grade and to develop his usefulness as a citizen.

It is a large question whether we are to have a distinct working-class in the country as distinguished from the land-owning farmer. The old order is one of perfect democracy, in which the laboring-man is a part of the farmer's family. It is not to be expected that this condition can continue in its old form, but the probability is that there will always be a different relation between workingman and employer in the country from that which obtains in the city. The relation will be more direct and personal. The employer will always feel his sense of obligation and responsibility to the man whom he employs and to the man's family. Persons do not starve to death in the open country.

Some persons think that the farming of the future is still to be performed on the family-plan, by which all members of the family perform the labor, and whatever incidental help is employed will become for the time a part of the family. This will probably continue to be the rule. But we must face the fact, however, that a necessary result of the organization of country life and the specialization of its industries, that is now so much urged, will be the production of a laboring class by itself.

D. CHILD LABOR

RURAL CHILD LABOR[1]

JOHN M. GILLETTE

It has been the customary assumption that the child labor evil is confined to our cities and manufacturing villages. Undoubtedly the more vigorous and unwarrantable conditions relative to youthful workers do entrench themselves in those places. Another familiar assumption is that the child labor performed on the farm is entirely wholesome and is therefore to be encouraged. But it is largely the product of those who are ignorant of farm life, or of those who have seen agriculture at a distance or in certain favored regions.

It can hardly be questioned that much of the work which farm children do is a distinct advantage to them. Work which is suited to the growing boy and girl is conducive to a better development of body and mind. The chores about the house and barn and the lighter forms of labor which may be engaged in outside of school hours are distinctly favorable to the establishment of a disciplined ability to carry on useful activities, which is deadly lacking in urban children. It is one of the recognized defects of city life that there is nothing at which to set the boys and girls outside of school hours and in vacation periods. Idleness and idle habits, bad associations, and irregular wayward tendencies are often directly traceable to this void in the city boy life. It is not the adjusted, timely work of children in the country which is the question. There is far more labor of an excessive nature placed on children, particularly boys, who live on farms than we would suspect.

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[1] Adapted from Child Labor Bulletin, No. I, p. 154. National Child Labor Committee, New York.

COLORADO BEET WORKERS[1]

DR. E. N. CLOPPER

We have been undertaking some isolated investigations of child labor in agriculture because it is a subject about which we know very little although the 1910 census reports that almost 72 per cent. of all the children between ten and fifteen years of age engaged in gainful occupations in the United States are in agricultural pursuits and that 18 per cent. of them or 260,000 are farm laborers working for other than their own parents.

In a recent study of the employment of children in the cultivation of sugar beets in Colorado we found an interesting situation. There are about 5,000 children between six and fifteen working in the beet fields, practically all of them with their own parents. These children of course are under the compulsory education law of Colorado which requires them to attend school nine months, but as the local system is organized on the district plan the local truant officer does not always enforce the law because he would be required to prosecute his own immediate friends and neighbors. The remedy seems to lie in a large unit of organization that would remove enforcement outside the immediate locality.

We found that the best working children were kept out of school about three months in the fall and lost about three and a half times as many days of school as the non-beet workers. This makes it impossible for the teachers to do the same work with them as the other children and hence the beet-workers were found to be very much retarded.

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[1] Adapted from Child Labor Bulletin. May, 1916. P. 38. National Child Labor Committee, New York.

STRAWBERRY PICKERS OF MARYLAND[1]

HARRY H. BREMER

TWENTY-EIGHT farms were visited in a brief investigation last spring. On none of these was provision for family privacy made. In one or two cases only one family was found occupying a single house but this was not from any desire of the farmer to meet the lowest possible standard of decency, but simply because only about half of the usual number of pickers had been taken out, owing to the poor crops. On one farm the farmer pointed with pride to his pickers' shanty and claimed it was the best on all the farms. He boasted that in its construction he had paid especial care to ventilation and the general well-being of the pickers. What I saw was a two story building I would have taken for a barn, with four windows and two doors on the first floor, and two windows and one door on the second. The building contained but a single large room on each floor, and showed absolutely no provision for comfort or privacy. In this he housed his pickers, men, women, and children, without regard to age, sex, or relationship. And as a sort of explanation of such meager provision, he went on to expatiate on the low standard of morals and the promiscuous living he thought characterized the lives of the people when in the city. "In the city," said he, "they live like cattle. Go into any house in Bond Street and you will find them crowded in worse than they are here." The other farmers, I found, held the same mistaken idea. This is a base libel on these people. Preceding the investigation of the farms nearly four hundred families were visited in their homes. In not one instance was more than one family living together and most families had three or four rooms. For the most part these homes were clean and showed care.

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[1] Adapted from Child Labor Bulletin, No. 4. P. 71. National Child Labor Committee, New York.

CHILDREN OR COTTON[1]

LEWIS H. HINE

No wonder a school superintendent told me: "Cotton is a curse to the Texas children." I was then just beginning a detailed investigation of conditions on Texas farms. For two months I went from farm to farm through forty counties from the "Panhandle" to the Gulf, where I saw Mellie and Millie and Edith and Ruby and other tiny bits of humanity picking cotton in every field.

We have long assailed (and justly) the cotton industry as the Herod of the mills. The sunshine in the cotton fields has blinded our eyes to the fact that the cotton picker suffers quite as much as the mill-hand from monotony, overwork and the hopelessness of his life. It is high time for us to face the truth and add to our indictment of King Cotton, a new charge—the Herod of the fields.

Why? What is it that is actually happening to these children? Come out with me at "sun-up" and see them trooping into the fields with their parents and neighbors. At first the morning will be fresh, and nature full of beauty. You will see kiddies four or five years old picking as though it were a game of imitation and considering it great fun, and you will think (perhaps) that it is a wholesome task, a manifestation of a kind Providence. But watch them picking through all the length of a hot summer day, and the mere sight of their monotonous repetition of a simple task will tire you out long before they stop. Their working day follows the sun and not until sundown do they leave the fields for the night. Then turn to the "older" children of six or seven, who are considered steady workers, and responsible for a share of the output, and you will realize that for them even in the beauty of the early morning the fun has quite lost its savor.

Here and there a strong voice is raised in protest. Such a one was Clarence Ousley, who addressed the Southern Commercial Congress. He said:

"We all are exercised about the hours of labor, the wages and the living conditions, of the women and children who work in the mills, stores and offices, but we take little or no thought of the hours of labor, the wages and the living conditions of the women and children who furnish the raw material of the looms. It is for the comfort and happiness of these primarily, for the greater prosperity of the South secondarily, and finally for the social and political blessings to come to the republic through a thriving yeomanry, through the strength and virtue of a contented and cultured rural population, that I beg your patience.''

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[1] Adapted from the *Survey*, Vol. 31, pp. 589–592. 1913–14.

It is quite possible that the Texas farmer is not so indifferent to the exploitation of his children as he appears to be, for he is literally ''up against it,'' and he may be applying the common anodyne of accepting and even justifying that which appears to him to be inevitable. It is obviously easier for outside observers to tell him that child labor is only making matters worse and that there is no way out until he abolishes it, that it is for him to appreciate and act upon such a long plan.

More than half of the farmers in Texas are transient renters, moving on every two or three years in a hopeless search for better things. They are weighed down with debt; mortgages are high and climbing higher; illiteracy and dependence upon the one crop keep them treading a vicious circle. The cotton picker's bag hanging about the neck of every child, bending his head with its weight and tripping him as he walks, is a symbol of the life his father leads and the life to which the child himself will come. He may be just on the verge of better things when the boll-weevil will blight his entire crop and reduce him again to hopeless ruin. Years, decades, of such experiences have broken many a spirit. They have lost the little interest they had in education and the younger generation has been growing up in ignorance.

Therefore it is that I place first and foremost in any program of change the restriction of child labor. Children must be left free to go to school. The school year must be lengthened and attendance required through the entire term. This is obviously and immediately necessary.

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CHAPTER VII

MENTAL AND MORAL ASPECTS OF RURAL LIFE

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FARMER[1]

JAMES BRYCE

I BEGIN with the farmers because they are, if not numerically the largest class, at least the class whose importance is most widely felt. As a rule they are the owners of their land; and as a rule the farms are small, running from forty or fifty up to three hundred acres. In a few places, especially in the West, great land owners let farms to tenants, and in some parts of the South one finds large estates cultivated by small tenants, often Negroes. But far more frequently the owner tills the land and the tiller owns it. The proportion of hired laborers to farmers is therefore very much smaller than in England, partly because farms are usually of a size permitting the farmer and his family to do much of the work themselves, partly because machinery is much more extensively used, especially in the level regions of the West. The laborers, or as they are called ''the hired men,'' do not, taking the country as a whole, form a social stratum distinct from the farmers, and there is so little distinction in education or rank between them that one may practically treat employer and employed as belonging to the same class.

The farmer is a keener and more enterprising man than in Europe, with more of that commercial character which one observes in Americans, far less anchored to a particular spot, and of course subject to no such influences of territorial magnates as prevail in England, Germany, or Italy. He is so far a business man as sometimes to speculate in grain or bacon. Yet he is not free from the usual defects of agriculturists; he is obstinate, tenacious of his habits, not readily accessible to argument. His way of life is plain and simple and he prides himself on its simplicity, holding the class he belongs to is the mainstay of the country, and regarding city folks and lawyers with a mixture of suspicion and jealousy, because he deems them inferior to himself in virtue as they are superior in adroitness, and likely to outwit him. Sparing rather than stingy in his outlays, and living mainly on the produce of his own fields, he has so little ready money that small sums appear large to him; and he fails to see why everybody can not thrive and be happy on $1,500 a year; he thinks that figure a sufficient salary for a county or district official, and regulates his notion of payment for all other officials, judges included, by the same standard. To belong to a party and support it by his vote seems to him part of a citizen's duty, but his interests in national politics are secondary to those he feels in agriculturist's questions, particularly in the great war against monopolies and capitalists, which the power and in some cases the tyranny of the railroad companies has provoked in the West. Naturally a grumbler, as are his brethren everywhere, and often unable to follow the causes which depress the price of his produce, he is the more easily persuaded that his grievances are due to the combinations of designing speculators. The agricultural newspaper to which he subscribes is of course written up to his prejudices, and its adulation of the farming class confirms his belief that he who makes the wealth of the country is tricked out of his proper share in its prosperity.

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[1] Adapted from "The American Commonwealth," volume II, pp. 293–4. Revised edition. Macmillan, N. Y.

Thus he now and then makes desperate attempts to right himself by legislation, lending too ready an ear to politicians who promise him redress by measures possibly unjust and usually unwise. In his impatience with the regular parties, he is apt to vote for those who call themselves a People's party or Farmer's party, and who dangle before him the hope of getting "cheap money," of reducing the expenses of legal proceedings, and of compelling the railroads to carry his produce at unremunerative rates. However, after all is said and done, he is an honest, kindly sort of man, hospitable, religious, patriotic, the man whose hard work has made the West what it is. It is chiefly in the West that one must look for the well-marked type I have tried to draw, yet not always in the newer West; for, in regions like northern Minnesota, Wisconsin and Dakota, the farming population is mainly foreign,—Scandinavian and German,—while the native Americans occupy themselves with trading and railroad management. However, the Scandinavians and Germans acquire in a few years many of the characteristics of the native farmer, and follow the political lead given by the latter. In the early days of the Republic, the agriculturists were, especially in the middle and newer parts of the Southern States, the backbone of the Democratic party, sturdy supporters of Jefferson, and afterwards of Jackson. When the opposition of North and South began to develop itself and population grew up beyond the Ohio, the pioneers from New England who settled in that country gave their allegiance to the Whig party; and in the famous "log-cabin and hard cider" campaign, which carried the election of General Harrison as President, that worthy taken as a type of hardy backwoodsman made the Western farmer for the first time a noble and poetical figure to the popular imagination. Nowadays he is less romantic, yet still one of the best elements in the country. He stood by the Union during the war, and gave his life freely for it. For many years afterward his vote carried the Western and especially the Northwestern states for the Republican party, which is still to him the party which saved the Union and protects the Negro.

THE INFLUENCE OF FARM LIFE ON CHILDHOOD[1]

CHARLES W. ELLIOT

Children brought up in the country get a deal of invaluable training from their rural surroundings. They roam the fields and wade in the waters, observe plant and animal life, use and take care of domestic animals, and help their fathers and mothers in the work of the house and the farm, and thereby get invaluable training—first, in observation, secondly, in attention to the task in hand, and thirdly, in good judgment which prevents waste of strength and distinguishes between the essential or immediately necessary in productive labor and the unessential and deferable.

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[1] Adapted from Report of the Board of Education, Connecticut, 1903, p. 290.

A roaming child brought up on a farm, learns from nature what it is almost impossible to impart to a city child. In city schools we have been for twenty years past laboriously trying to provide substitutes for this natural training in country life. The recent natural history study from specimens used indoors, the manual training given in carpentry, forging, filing and turning, the garden plots and roof gardens, the vacation schools, and the excursions to parks and museums, are all sincere efforts to replace for urban children the lost training of eye and hand which country life supplied. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of these substitutes; but after all, these substitutes are inferior to the spontaneous, unenforced results of living in contact with nature, and of taking part with mother and father in the productive labors of a farm, a market garden, a hennery, or a dairy. What children acquire in the spontaneous, intense, self-directed use of their faculties is always more valuable than the results of a less eager though more prolonged attention to enforced tasks.

AN APPRECIATION OF RURAL PEOPLE[1]

T. N. CARVER

NOTHING can give us a clearer idea of the failure of urban people to appreciate rural people than the names which are sometimes applied to the latter. Saying nothing of such recent slang as "hayseed," "rube," "clod hopper," etc., we have such ancient words as heathen, pagan, boor and villain, all of which meant originally the same as these modern epithets. Even the modern word peasant has come to have, in the ears of the typical urbanite, a somewhat opprobrious sound. The reason is not difficult to find.

One characteristic difference between rural and urban industry is that in the former, men get their living out of the soil and in the latter, the dominant element gets its living out of other men. They who coax their living out of the soil must become expert in the knowledge of the soil and the things pertaining to it, such as crops, implements, and live stock. But they who coax their living out of other men must of necessity become expert in the knowledge of men and the things which please them, such as fair speech, manners and dress. It is as much a part of their business to become expert in these things as it is of the farmer to become expert in his work of subjugating nature and directing its forces. The dominant element in a city is always one which makes its living by talking (or writing and picture making, which amount to the same thing). This is the element which makes the sentiment of the city, coins its slang and determines its tastes.

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[1] Adapted from *Rural Manhood*, March, 1910, pp. 7–10.

Since such element has so little in common with those whose work consists in manipulating things rather than men, who are therefore less adroit in the amenities of social life, and less expert in the complexities of drawing room etiquette, it finds itself unable to appreciate them. That is the reason why urban people have always found occasion to reproach rural people with their lack of urbanity.

But to the discriminating mind there are abundant grounds for an appreciation of those who make their living by tilling the soil. In consequence of the antiquity and universality of the agricultural industry there has developed a body of rural lore and rural technique the like of which is found nowhere else. Our attention is sometimes attracted by the peculiar wisdom of the sailor people; but that of the farmer people is vastly greater though less peculiar and therefore considered less interesting. But because so much of it is learned outside of the schools by the actual process of doing rural work—father and son working together generation after generation—it does not commonly go under the name of learning. The marvelous technique of rural work is acquired in such a commonplace way that we usually regard it as a matter of course and do not realize that it is a real technique. But there are probably no tools or implements known to any craft or profession which are more perfect in their adaptation, with more fine points known only to the initiated, upon which excellence in form and structure depends, than some of the common implements of modern husbandry. The common plow is an example. The shaping of the mold board in such a way to give the maximum efficiency with the minimum of resistance is a result of generations of experience and adjustment.

Another significant characteristic of the agricultural industry is that it is still, and shows no sign of ceasing to be, an industry of small units. A small unit in the agricultural industry means merely a small number of persons employed on each unit and not a small acreage. This characteristic of agriculture is of great importance because it signifies that a very large proportion of those engaged in it are self-employed and only a small proportion, as compared with other industries, are employed. This fact of self-employment means, among other things, self direction, initiative, independence, and responsibility for the success of the business. This requires qualities never demanded of the wage earning or salaried employee.

The demand for these qualities is still further heightened by another significant characteristic of the agricultural industry, viz, its seasonal character. The farmer's work not only changes from season to season, but from day to day, and even from hour to hour. Besides there are multitudinous, unexpected and unforeseeable changes made necessary by the instability of the natural forces with which he has to contend, such as changes of the weather, etc. All this means that the farmer must reorganize the work of the farm frequently, sometimes at an hour's notice. He never knows what it is to carry on a single operation the year round as is often possible in the mechanical trades. He must always be on the alert and ready to decide what is to be done next. They to whom this everlasting deciding what to do next is a painful process must leave the farm and go where that question is decided for them by a boss or manager.

Again it is a fact which educators still have to lament that no substitute has yet been found for the schooling which the boy gets on the farm as a matter of course. Here is where the boy on the farm has a priceless advantage over his city cousin. He can watch his father at work, and, as soon as he is old enough, may help. There is no schooling equal to this; but it is seldom open to the city boy in these days.

The intimate association of parents and children in the work of the farm and the farm household gives a common interest to the rural family which is not always maintained under urban conditions. The rural family is a stable institution as compared with the city family. This is shown by the larger divorce rate in the cities, and the lower rate of multiplication. This difference in the stability of the rural and urban families explains why it is that city populations have to be continually replenished from the country districts.

It has been said that the greatest social distinction is that between those who live in town and those who live in the country. Were it not true that city people are themselves country people, not more than three generations removed, there would be some truth in this statement. The differences between country life and city life are so wide as to produce inevitable divergences of great width in their ideals, their manners and their outlook upon life were it not that nature has a way of exterminating city people when they get too far away from the rural point of view. If we may assume that nature knows what she is about it is safe to conclude that the rural point of view is the correct one. It therefore behooves us to ponder seriously what seems to be the maturer preference before we affect to despise the homely virtues of rural people.

THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT AND GREAT MEN[1]

WILLIAM J. SPILLMAN

Dr. Woods has shown that at the time when the average man noted in "Who's Who" was a boy, about 16 per cent. of our population lived in the cities. He further showed that about 30 per cent. of the individuals in "Who's Who" were brought up in the city. He accounts for this excess of city men amongst men of note by the fact that the city attracts talent, the percentage of ability in the city, therefore being greater than in the country. He would, therefore, explain the excess of city men mainly as the result of heredity. He may be correct in this position. I am inclined at present, however, to believe that while this excess may be partly due to the fact that talent is attracted to the city and that, therefore, the city child has a better chance of inheriting talent, part of it is due to that fact that cities in general have better school facilities than the country. Most of the men in "Who's Who" are those who had good educational advantages. I suspect, therefore, that if an adequate study were made we should find that in this case environment has had something to do with the fact that 30 per cent. of the men in "Who's Who" are from the city. But for the sake of argument let us accept Dr. Woods's point of view. It would then follow that 30 per cent. of our leading men should be accredited to the city if their leadership is due entirely to heredity. Now for the facts in the case. It is recognized that the following statistics are meager and that conclusions can only be drawn from them tentatively, but the fact that the figures are consistent with each other confirms their correctness.

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[1] Adapted from *Science*, 30: 405–7, Sept. 24, 1909.

The following table gives statistics for the three classes of men who may be, perhaps, placed highest amongst the list of our leading men:

Class of Men	City	Country and Village	Per Cent. from Country
Presidents	2	23	92.0
Governors	4	41	91.2
Cabinet Officers	9	47	83.9
Totals	15	111	88.2

The figures for presidents include all the presidents this country has had. Of course in the early days a smaller proportion of our population lived in the cities. But this criticism can not be applied to the list of governors. Figures from this class of men relate to the present governors of the states. It is seen that 91.2 per cent. of this class of men are from the country or village. The figures for cabinet officers include members of cabinets between 1869 and 1903. The average of these three classes of men shows 88.2 per cent. of them from the country. Now, if we accept Dr. Woods's view that the cities furnish a larger proportion of our leading men for the reason that talent is attracted to the city, the proportion of these men coming from the country should be considerably less than the proportion of our population in the country, but the facts show that the proportion of these men from the country is actually greater than the proportion of country population. This seems to me to argue strongly for farm life as an educational force.

I have received replies from forty-seven railway presidents in this country. Of these 55.4 per cent. are credited to the village and country. When we remember that preferment in this industry is greatly influenced by hereditary wealth it seems to me that the fact that so large a percentage of these men are country bred is somewhat significant. Statistics for members of the house of representatives are of less value for our present purpose than most of the other statistics given here, for the reason that nativity is a distinct force in politics, and that many representative districts are wholly city while others are wholly country districts. Sixty-four per cent. of the present members of the house of representatives are from the country. Figures for members of the senate are of more value in this respect, since senators represent states. Yet the fact that most of our senators are very wealthy men would seem to justify the inference that the city has more than its share of this class of men, yet 70.6 per cent. of the eighty-five members of the present senate for whom data could be obtained are from the country. Taking all six of these classes of men, the average per cent. from the country is 69.4. It will be noted that the higher we go in the scale of leadership in those classes which are least influenced by extraneous considerations, the higher is the per cent. of country-bred men. I believe these figures substantiate the claim made in my original article, namely, that country life has a distinct educational value. But what is it in country life that gives this advantage? President Lucius Tuttle, of the Boston and Maine Railroad, in answering my circular letter answers this question. He says:

> Among other things, the farm boy learns methods of economy and, incidentally, the value of money. He is a part of the business machinery of the farm and is brought into close contact with all its affairs. He learns methods of trade and how to buy and sell, as well as possible, without incurring losses, and, later on when he leaves the farm and goes into a general business, the education he has acquired during his farm life becomes a fundamental and valuable part of his after business life.
>
> As a general rule, the city boy has no connection with his father's business and knows nothing about it. His father may be eminently successful but the boy has nothing to do with making his success and is very seldom

> allowed to be cognizant of the methods of business his father uses. Under modern conditions, school life gives the boy very little business knowledge and, at the end of his school education, when he enters business, he is obliged to begin at the bottom of the ladder without knowledge of many things that the farm boy has learned in connection with his daily home life.
>
> To my mind this is the fundamental reason why boys brought up on the farm appear to make better successes in their after business life than do city boys who have not had the advantages of a similar business training in their earlier days.

President White, of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company, in discussing the effect of life on the farm, says:

> It is preëminently, in my judgment, an experience which develops independence and self-reliance and, therefore, I think, the spirit of achievement, more than any other I know of.

Another railroad president remarks:

> I believe that farm life lays a good and broad foundation for a healthy, vigorous manhood in both mind and body.

Another noted railway man, who never spent a day on the farm, says:

> I am inclined to think boys brought up on the farm have better constitutions and are less liable to temptations.

President L. W. Hill, of the Great Northern Railway, says:

> My present home is on a farm and my principal reason for making my home there, rather than at some of the lakes or in the city, is that I have three boys of my own I am trying to give a fair start in life. I believe there is no end of arguments that living on the farm gives the best chance for a growing boy. While my making the farm my home sometimes works an inconvenience to me, I realize that the benefits to my children are well worth the inconvenience to me of getting in and out between my office and the farm.

I have always contended that the value of farm rearing lies in the fact that on the farm there is a chance to place responsibility on the growing boy. I firmly believe that it is possible to work out a system of education that will give our schools all the advantages of the farm life. This is being done, to a certain extent, in the cities, and I believe that this fact has something to do with the increasing number of strong men who come from the city.

But I must admit that the actual data on this subject are very meager.

SUGGESTION AND CITY-DRIFT[1]

ERNEST R. GROVES

The present movement of population toward urban centers, so strongly expressed in Europe and America at the present time, deserves study in the light of the modern teaching of psychology concerning the meaning of childhood experiences as determining adult conduct. It is everywhere admitted that this urban attraction of rural population is socially significant, and that its causes are many. It is even feared by many that it represents an unwholesome and dangerous tendency in modern life, and that it should be investigated for the purpose of discovering a reasonable check upon this drift to the cities.

No study of the mental causes behind this urban enticement can fail to discover the importance of the suggestions received by country children during their preparation for life. (See "The Mind of the Farmer"—Ed.)

Rural education, of course, provides many opportunities for penetrating suggestions, and any one who knows the schools of the country will affirm that their suggestions are not always friendly to rural interests. The character of some studies makes it difficult for the teacher not to emphasize urban conditions. In the endeavor for the dramatic and the ideal, the teacher is likely to draw upon urban life.

It is fair to state that a beginning has been made in the effort to utilize the country life possibilities in teaching material. But one usually finds in the ordinary text book an unconscious tendency to emphasize the urban point of view and to accept it as the social standard. Many of the striking experiences of modern life necessarily culminate amid urban conditions even when caused largely by rural influences. The urban center is the passion spot, and affords more opportunity for the dramatic.

The same fact is true of ideals. The teacher is often tempted to use urban illustrations in her effort to establish ideals of conduct. The spectacular character of moral struggle and ethical effort in the city makes urban life a source from which to draw interesting moral appeal. This bias in teaching is magnified not infrequently by the attitude of the teacher toward rural life, consciously or unconsciously. The suggestion of the urban minded teacher and the urban inspired school system are bound to provide effective suggestions that will later provide a basis for rural discontent.

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[1] Adapted from *Rural Manhood*, 7: 47–52, April, 1916.

The early experience on the farm may leave a suggestion of unreasonable toil. Romantic youth can not rest content with a vision of endless, lengthened hours of work and merely a living. Other opportunities provide a living also, with less toil. Parents have at times been responsible for this conception of farming, because they have insisted upon having their sons and daughters work unreasonably during vacation and after school. The parent, who looks backward upon a generation more given to long toil than this, and uses his own earlier experience as a standard, may the more easily commit this mistake and teach his children to hate the farm and rural life.

The boy on the farm finds at times that his holiday and vacation are encroached upon by needed labor. Weather and harvest conditions rob him of the pleasures that his village chum enjoys. Some definite plan for an outing, or some greatly desired day of sport has to be given up that the crop may not be injured.

Doubtless parents allow these disappointments to happen with little reason, and looking at the matter from an adult point of view, do not regard the boy's feelings as of serious significance; and yet, in the light of modern psychology, we know that such experiences may build up a very significant hostility to the rural environment that appears to be the cause of the agonizing disappointments. The cumulative effects of a few bitter experiences of this nature may be sufficient to turn the boy away from the country in his heart of hearts for all time. In such cases the first opportunity to leave the country for the town will be accepted gladly, as a way of escape from a life emotionally intolerable.

The student of rural life is tempted to look too much to the country and too little to the city for the cause of rural migration. It is not easy to value properly the constant and impressive suggestions of urban opportunity furnished by the city. It is important to recognize that the prosperity of the city requires that it exploit itself in ways that bring people to the city to live, as well as to trade. Better business is obtained by methods of advertising that naturally lead to more people.

Modern advertising is in itself a supreme illustration of effective suggestion, and its development has been for the most part in the hands of urban interests. Such advertising has forced rural people to contrast their manner of life with urban conditions and often with the result of discontent. They are drawn to the city on special occasions by a luring city publicity manipulated with scientific skill by experts, and often return to their country homes dissatisfied because of false notions regarding the pleasures of the city. Of course this is more largely true of young people as they are more open to suggestion.

Spectacular success is largely dependent upon urban conditions of life, and such success obtains public attention. Even in the country the successes talked about are likely to be those made possible by city life. These are given space in the magazines and daily papers edited and published in cities, and so they naturally occupy the minds of rural readers of such periodicals.

The young man who feels the attraction of such enterprise, who wishes to have a part in big things, even if an insignificant part, who craves knowing big business at first hand, receives a suggestion that invites him cityward. When a community is itself represented by some former resident in some spectacular success, it is certain that many young men will question their future on the farm in that locality. Thus the human product of a rural community robs it of its personality resources—and the career of the man of fame may continue to act as a tradition long after his death, and still add to the rural migration.

It is not altogether clear what effect visitors in the summer from cities have upon rural people with reference to city drift. Although a matter of accident, perhaps, dependent upon the character of the city people, and only important in a limited area of the country, summer visitors, nevertheless, must provide suggestions that occasionally operate powerfully upon some young people in the country in encouraging their going to the city. Certain facts in some of our New England country towns where visitors from the city return summer after summer, appear to indicate that this condition does encourage young people in going to the city to live.

THE MIND OF THE FARMER[1]

ERNEST R. GROVES

THE difficulty is to find the typical farmer's mind that in the South, in the East, and in the West will be accepted as standard. In our science there is perhaps at present no place where generalization needs to move with greater caution than in the statement of the farmer's psychic characteristics. It is human to crave simplicity, and we are never free from the danger of forcing concrete facts into general statements that do violence to the opposing obstacles.

The mind of the farmer is as varied as the members of the agricultural class are significantly different. And how great are these differences! The wheat farmer of Washington State who receives for his year's crop $106,000 has little understanding of the life outlook of the New Englander who cultivates his small, rocky hillside farm. The difference is not that one does on a small scale what the other does in an immense way. He who knows both men will hardly question that the difference in quantity leads also to differences in quality, and in no respect are the two men more certainly distinguishable than in their mental characteristics.

It appears useless, therefore, to attempt to procure for dissection a typical rural mind. In this country at present there is no mind that can be fairly said to represent a group so lacking in substantial unity as the farming class, and any attempt to construct such a mind is bound to fail. This is less true when the class is separated into sections, for the differences between farmers is in no small measure geographical. Indeed, is it not a happy fact that the American farmer is not merely a farmer? Although it complicates a rural problem such as ours, it is fortunate that the individual farmer shares the larger social mind to such a degree as to diminish the intellectual influences born of his occupation.

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[1] Adapted from Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XI, 47–53.

The method of procedure that gives largest promise of substantial fact is to attempt to uncover some of the fundamental influences that operate upon the psychic life of the farmers of America and to notice, in so far as opportunity permits, what social elements modify the complete working of these influences.

One influence that shows itself in the thinking of farmers of fundamental character is, of course, the occupation of farming itself. In primitive life we not only see the importance of agricultural work for social life but we discover also some of the mental elements involved that make this form of industry socially significant. From the first it called for an investment of self-control, a patience, that nature might be coaxed to yield from her resources a reasonable harvest. We therefore find in primitive agriculture a hazardous undertaking which, nevertheless, lacked any large amount of dramatic appeal.

It is by no means otherwise to-day. The farmer has to be efficient in a peculiar kind of self-control. He needs to invest labor and foresight in an enterprise that affords to the usual person little opportunity for quick returns, a sense of personal achievement, or the satisfaction of the desire for competitive face-to-face association with other men which is offered in the city. Men who cultivate on a very large scale and men who enjoy unusual social insight as to the significance of their occupation are exceptions to the general run of farmers. In these days of accessible transportation we have a rapid and highly successful selection which largely eliminates from the farming class the type that does not naturally possess the power to be satisfied with the slowly acquired property, impersonal success, and non-dramatic activities of farming. This process which eliminates the more restless and commercially ambitious from the country has, of course, been at work for generations. This has tended, therefore, to a uniformity of mental characteristics, but it has by no means succeeded in producing a homogeneous rural mind. The movement has been somewhat modified by the return of people to the country from the city and by the influence on the country mind of the more restless and adventurous rural people who, for one reason or another, have not migrated. In the far

West especially attention has been given to the rural hostility to, or at least misunderstanding of, city movements which attempt ambitious social advances. It is safe to assume that this attitude of rural people is widespread and is noticeable far West merely because of a greater frankness. The easterner hides his attitude because he has become conscious that it opens him to criticism. This attitude of rural hostility is rooted in the fundamental differences between the thinking of country and of city people, due largely to the process of social selection. This mental difference gives constant opportunity for social friction. If the individuals who live most happily in the city and in the country are contrasted, there is reason to suppose that the mental opposition expresses nervous differences. In one we have the more rapid, more changeable, and more consuming thinker, while the thought of the other is slower, more persistent, and less wasteful of nervous energy.

The work of the average farmer brings him into limited association with his fellows as compared with the city worker. This fact also operates upon him mentally. He has less sense of social variations and less realization of the need of group solidarity. This results in his having less social passion than his city brother, except when he is caught in a periodic outburst of economic discontent expressed in radical agitation, and also in his having a more feeble class-consciousness and a weaker basis for coöperation. This last limitation is one from which the farmer seriously suffers.

The farmer's lack of contact with antagonistic groups because his work keeps him away from the centers where social discontent boils with passion and because it prevents his appreciating class differences makes him a conservative element in our national life, but one always big with the danger of a blind servitude to traditions and archaic social judgments. The thinking of the farmer may be either substantial from his sense of personal sufficiency or backward from his lack of contact. The decision regarding his attitude is made by the influences that enter his life, in addition to those born of his occupation.

At this point, however, it would be serious to forget that some of the larger farming enterprises are carried on so differently that the manager and owner are more like the factory operator than the usual farmer. To them the problem is labor-saving machinery, efficient management, labor cost, marketing facilities, and competition. They are not especially influenced by the fact that they happen to handle land products rather than manufactured articles.

Much has been made of the farmer's hand-to-hand grapple with a capricious and at times frustrating Nature. This emphasis is deserved, for the farmer is out upon the frontier of human control of natural forces. Even modern science, great as is its service, cannot protect him from the unexpected and the disappointing. Insects and weather sport with his purposes and give his efforts the atmosphere of chance. It is not at all strange, therefore, that the farmer feels drawn to fatalistic interpretations of experience which he carries over to lines of thought other than those connected with his business.

A second important influence that has helped to make the mind of the farmer has been isolation. In times past, without doubt, this has been powerful in its effect upon the mind of the farmer. It is less so now because, as every one knows, the farmer is protected from isolation by modern inventions. It is necessary to recall, however, that isolation is in relation to one's needs and that we too often neglect the fact that the very relief that has removed from country people the more apparent isolation of physical distance has often intensified the craving for closer and more frequent contact with persons than the country usually permits. Whether isolation as a psychic experience has decreased for many in the country is a matter of doubt. Certainly most minds need the stimulus of human association for both happiness and healthiness, and even yet the minds of farmers disclose the narrowness, suspiciousness, and discontent of place that isolation brings. It makes a difference in social attitude whether the telephone, automobile, and parcel post draw the people nearer together in a common community life or whether they bring the people under the magic of the city's quantitative life and in this way cause rural discontent.

The isolation from the great business centers which has kept farmers from having a personally wide experience with modern business explains in part the suspicious attitude rural people often take into their commercial relations. This has been expressed in a way one can hardly forget by Tolstoy in his "Resurrection" when his hero, from moral sympathy with land reform, undertakes to give to his tenants land under conditions much to their advantage and, much to his surprise, finds them hostile to the plan. They had been too often tricked in the past and felt too little acquainted with business methods to have any confidence in the new plan which claimed to have benevolent motives. It is only fair to admit that the farmer differs from others of his social rank only in degree and that his experiences in the past appear to him to justify his skeptical attitude. He has at times suffered exploitation; what he does not realize is that this has been made possible by his lack of knowledge of the ways of modern business and by his failure to organize. The farmer is beginning to appreciate the significance of marketing. Unfortunately, he too often carries his suspiciousness, which has resulted from business experiences, into many lines of action and thinking, and thus robs himself of enthusiasm and social confidence.

A third important element in the making of the farmer's mind may be broadly designated as suggestion. The farmer is like other men in that his mental outlook is largely colored by the suggestions that enter his life.

It is this fact, perhaps, that explains why the farmer's mind does not express more clearly vocational character, for no other source of persistent suggestions has upon most men the influence of the newspaper, and each day, almost everywhere, the daily paper comes to the farmer with its appealing suggestions. Of course the paper represents the urban point of view rather than the rural, but in the deepest sense it may be said to look at life from the human outlook, the way the average man sees things. The newspaper, therefore, feeds the farmer's mind with suggestions and ideas that counteract the influences that specially emphasize the rural environment. It keeps him in contact with thinking and events that are world-wide, and unconsciously permeates his motives, at times giving him urban cravings that keep him from utilizing to the full his social resources in the country. Any attempt to understand rural life that minimizes the common human fellowship which the newspaper offers the farmer is certain to lead to unfortunate misinterpretation.

Mentally the farmer is far from being isolated in his experiences, for he no longer is confined to the world of local ideas as he once was. This constant daily stimulation from the world of business, sports, and public affairs at times awakens his appetite for urban life and makes him restless or encourages his removal to the city or makes him demand as much as possible of the quantitative pleasures and recreations of city life. In a greater degree, however, the paper contents his mental need for contact with life in a more universal way than his particular community allows. The automobile and other modern inventions also serve the farmer, as does the newspaper, by providing mental suggestions from an extended environment.

A very important source of suggestion, as abnormal psychology so clearly demonstrates, at present, is the impressions of childhood. Rural life tends on the whole to intensify the significant events of rural life because of the limited amount of exciting experiences received as compared with city life. Parental influence is more important because it suffers less competition. This fact of the meaning of early suggestions appears, without doubt, in various ways and forbids the scientist's assuming that rural thinking is made uniform by universal and unvaried suggestions.

The discontent of rural parents with reference to their environment or occupation, due either to their natural urban tendencies or to their failure of success, has some influence in sending rural people to the city. Accidental or incidental suggestion often repeated is especially penetrating in childhood, and no one who knows rural people can fail to notice parents who are prone to such suggestions expressing rural discontent. In the same way suspiciousness or jealousy with reference to particular neighbors or associates leads, when it is often expressed before children, to general suspiciousness or trivial sensitiveness. The emotional obstacles to the get-together spirit—obstacles which vex the rural worker—in no small degree have their origin in suggestions given in childhood.

The country is concerned with another source of suggestion which has more to do with the efficiency of the rural mind than its content, and that is the matter of sex. Students of rural life apparently give this element less attention than it deserves. As Professor Ross has pointed out in South of Panama, for example, the precocious development of sex tends to enfeeble the intellect and to prevent the largest kind of mental capacity. It is unsafe at present to generalize regarding the differences between country and city life in matters of sex, but it is certainly true when rural life is empty of commanding interests and when it is coarsened by low traditions and the presence of defective persons that there is a precocious emphasis of sex. This is expressed both by early marrying and by loose sex relations. It is doubtful whether the commercializing of sex attraction in the city has equal mental significance, for certainly science clearly shows that it is the precocious expression of sex that has largest psychic dangers. In so far as the environment of a rural community tends to bring to early expression the sexual life, we have every reason to suppose that at this point at least the influence of the community is such as to lead to a comparative mental arrest or a limiting of mental ability, for which the country later suffers socially. Each student of rural life must, from experience and observation, evaluate for himself the significance of this sex precociousness. When sex interests become epidemic and the general tendency is toward precocious sex maturity, the country community is producing for itself men and women of inferior resources as compared with their natural possibilities. Even the supposed social wholesomeness of earlier marrying in the country must be scrutinized with the value of sex sublimation during the formative years clearly in mind.

THE NEED OF IDEALS IN RURAL LIFE [1]

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

One grave danger to permanent rural progress is the low level of ideals, determined by community standards. It is not that the average ideals are lower than in the city. I think they are higher. But they come perilously close to a dead level in immense areas of country. There is an absence of that high idealism that acts as yeast upon the whole mass, which often prevails in cities. It is harder to rise above the conventions in the country, simply because there are few strata of popular habit. In the city there are many; the individual can pass from one to another. Things are reduced to simpler terms in the country. This has its advantages, but it tends to blight budding ideals or to drive them out for development elsewhere—usually in the city.

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[1] From "The Country Church and the Rural Problem," pp. 75–78. (Copyright 1911, the University of Chicago Press.)

As a consequence the rural community is in constant danger of stagnation—of settling down into the easy chairs of satisfaction. Rural life needs constant stimulus of imported ideas—a stimulus of suggestion apart from its daily routine.

Moreover, rural ideals sometimes lack breadth and variety. Life in the country easily becomes monotonous, humdrum. It needs broadening, as well as elevating. It needs variety, gaiety. But these changes can find their proper stimulus only in motives that are high and worthy. Hence an appeal must be made for the cultivation of ideals of personal development and neighborhood advancement.

When ideals do come into country life, they are apt to be not indigenous, but urban notions transplanted bodily. Urban ideals may often be grafted onto some strong rural stock. Transplantation is dangerous. Some one must be at work in the country neighborhoods breeding a new species of aspirations out of the common hardy varieties that have proved their worth.

Lack of ideals is in a sense responsible for the drift away from the farm. Some people leave the country because they can not realize their ideals in the existing rural atmosphere. Others go because they have no thought of the possibilities of country life.

In a former chapter attention was called to the fact that rural life is more full of poetry than any other. But rural romance is often stifled in the atmosphere of drudgery and isolation. This high sentiment is of the soul and can come only as the soul expands. It is not merely an enjoyment of trees, crops, and animals. It is in part a sense of exaltation born of contact with God at work. It has in it an element of triumph because great powers are being harnessed for man's bidding. It has in it somewhat of the air of freedom, because of dealing with forces free and wild except as they are held in leash by an unseen Master driver. It has in it much of worship, because of all the deep mysteries of seed and soil, and because of the everlasting, patient procession of the seasons and their vicissitudes.

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CHAPTER VIII

RURAL HEALTH—PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

A. RURAL HEALTH—PHYSICAL

A SOCIOLOGIST'S HEALTH PROGRAM FOR THE RURAL COMMUNITY[1]

L. L. BERNARD

NOT the only dangers to human beings come from physical violence, although in these times of war and international unrest we are too prone to forget or neglect the subtler evils. The menaces to morals and to health have much more disastrous effects, not alone because they claim more victims by actual count, even in war time, than does physical violence, but also because they are so much more secretive in their methods, and of all enemies their approach is the most unseen. As Professor Carver says, "When people realize clearly that babies can be killed with fly-infected food as well as with an ax, they ought to be as willing to work as hard to exterminate the fly as they would to exterminate a gang of murderers who went about killing babies with axes." But the problem of getting people to realize the dangers of germ diseases and moral pitfalls is a very difficult one. Merely the relatively uneducated eye can perceive the dangers of physical violence, but it requires a mind educated in at least the rudiments of the theory of germ diseases and sanitation to apprehend the dangers to both young and old from flies, mosquitoes, tubercle, and intestinal bacilli. The one is capable of dramatic presentation, while the other is for most people information of a highly prosaic character.

Likewise, warfare against the one appeals readily and vividly to the imagination and can be waged more or less directly, while war against bad health or bad morals requires much more thought and constancy of purpose for its planning than most people are willing to give. For these reasons it may be worth while to set forth here a few suggestions for a program which may be of some value both for acquainting the people of the rural community with the hidden menace to their health and for enabling them to overcome these dangers by eradicating their causes. Good health is one of the primary conditions of a strong and progressive civilization. Where it is lacking most of the other human ills flourish also. Where it is present there is energy and will for the most difficult tasks of society.

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[1] Adapted from "The New Chivalry—Health," pp. 349–358. (Southern Sociological Congress, May, 1915.)

The country is behind the city in both the matter of information regarding sanitary conditions and in the application of the methods of sanitation. This is true in spite of the fact that the country has some decided hygienic and sanitary advantages in the way of an abundance of sunlight and fresh air and, for a large portion of the year, of fresh food in greater quantities than the city can afford. There is also an abundance cf physical exercise in the country, but unfortunately of such a one-sided character that it does not develop the body harmoniously, but tends in many cases to strain and to impair certain tissues and organs. These are largely natural advantages. For the most part the disadvantages of the country in a sanitary way are the result of man's own negligence rather than inherent in the nature of the country itself. In the country as yet there is almost everywhere less sanitary inspection, and there is consequently less sanitary control over such matters as the drainage of mosquito-breeding swamps, the disposal and destruction of noxious refuse and dead animals, the inspection of the water supply and the milk supply, and less control of diseased and poisonous animals, such as the dog infected with rabies and dangerous snakes. This lack of sanitary inspection and control is not alone due to ignorance, but is also in large part traceable to the economic costs of carrying out such programs of sanitation, and perhaps equally as often to the lack of proper social and economic machinery or organization for getting it done.

The country is also less well supplied with many of the sanitary and health aids which are coming to be relatively so plentiful in the cities, such as good physicians within reasonable calling distance, the district or visiting nurse, hospitals and dispensaries. The country also is too frequently lacking in such other hygienic and health aids as public and private bathing facilities, regular and well regulated exercise and recreation, protection from sudden changes in temperature and inclement weather. But on the other hand the country does not suffer so extensively from the health-destroying vices which are so common in the cities, especially excessive alcoholism, drug addiction, and the venereal diseases. Most of the leading diseases, in fact, are recorded in census returns as being more prevalent in the cities than in the country districts. There are certain notable exceptions to this general rule. The rural communities exceed in malaria, influenza, dysentery, peritonitis, and the diseases of the nervous and circulatory systems, and possibly also in pellagra and hookworm. Some health authorities have also attributed much of the cities' excess rate of typhoid to rural vacations and an infected milk supply, though the responsibility probably rests more properly upon the cities' infected water supply. The cities' excessive rate in certain of the largely prevalent diseases, such as measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, croup, scarlet fever, and pneumonia, is due primarily to the high contagiousness of these affections which operates to advantage in crowded communities. The country's excess in the diseases earlier enumerated above, on the other hand, is not traceable to the contagiousness of the diseases, but to the inferior sanitation which exists there, and in some cases to physical and nervous overstrain.

Thus the comparative statistics of rural and urban health indicate clearly to us the difficulties in each case. In the country the difficulty is clearly lack of sanitation and physical and mental hygiene. What then is our program for removing these abnormal conditions? There are a great many things that can and should be done. It will suffice here perhaps to suggest and outline a few of the more important of these.

Perhaps the primary condition for the establishment of better health in the rural community is the provision of a competent health officer and sanitary inspector, one who not only understands the dangers and difficulties of rural sanitary conditions, but who also has the legal powers and the courage to enforce the changes which are necessary. A number of states already make provision for a county health officer, but usually he has insufficient powers with which to enforce reforms or he is paid for too small a portion of his time, or his appointment is of too political a character, to secure the efficiency which so important a function as his requires. The fact remains that rural health inspection is far behind that which is carried on in the cities, and sanitary enforcement is much more nearly adequate in the cities than in the country districts. In order to secure the greatest efficiency in this work its administrative direction should center in the State Board of Health, which should have adequate powers of control over it.

A closely related need for the protection of rural health is the collection and publication of vital statistics, including statistics of disease as well as of births and deaths. This function may be performed by or under the direction of the rural health officer or by a separate agency. In either case the statistics entire should be made immediately available to all civic and private agencies interested in the health of the rural community. Statistics of health and of births and deaths have the same value for the rural community as for the urban; they point out the weak spots in the community's health and thus indicate where work needs to be done. By the aid of such statistics polluted water supplies, soils polluted with hookworm larvæ, breeding places for flies and mosquitoes, the need of instruction in dietetics and other matters of household science and management can be indicated. It is therefore absolutely essential to proper health administration in the rural community that accurate and adequate vital statistics be collected and published.

It must not be forgotten, of course, that no community, urban or rural, can be given proper sanitary and hygienic conditions unless there are proper laws prescribing minimum sanitary conditions and giving adequate powers to the officer or officers having the protection of health in charge. Therefore most, if not all, of our states will have to legislate anew for the control of rural sanitation. The large essentials of the health code should be uniform over the state, as uniform in fact as are the health needs, while the problems of a purely local nature may conceivably be left to the administrative discretion of the county courts or boards of commissioners. But whatever body may enact the health laws they should be reasonably uniform, and adequate and thorough administrative enforcement should be provided for. But where adequate laws and administrative machinery for rural sanitary protection do not exist—and such apparently is everywhere the case at the present time—much may still be accomplished through community coöperation, provided only there is leadership and the dwellers in the community are made to see clearly the connection between sanitary measures and improved health. The health of most of the rural communities of the South could be vastly improved without any considerable visible economic outlay merely through voluntary coöperative drainage of swamps or wet places, oiling, covering, or filling unused wells, the disposal of all wastes, and the formation of rural improvement societies or clubs for the purpose of observing properties for the detection and reporting of improperly cared for manure piles, the accumulation of rain water in bottles and barrels and other receptacles about the house, and other nuisances, and for the creation of an effective public opinion regarding these evils. Here the problem is primarily one of education and effective leadership rather than of laws, or coöperative labor rather than of a budget raised through taxation. Valuable as such coöperative enterprise must always be for the protection of rural health, with or without laws and administration, it can never completely take the place of the latter, nor will it work with anything like the uniformity which the other provides.

No rural health program can claim even approximate adequacy which does not provide for the district or visiting nurse. The visiting nurse has been an indispensable factor in the health improvement of the cities and is coming to be recognized as one of the first objectives in rural health campaigns. Where the rural district nurse has been employed results have amply justified the expenditure required. Whether the nurse operates over the whole county or a smaller division must necessarily depend primarily upon the density of the population and the value of property for taxation, though at least one visiting nurse to the township, or consolidated school district where such exists, should be the ultimate goal. In those States where township divisions do not exist, commissioner districts or other similar divisions may well serve as geographic units for her services. The function of the visiting nurse is normally pretty much the same in rural and in urban communities. She should be available for advice and help wherever there is illness and her services should be as much educational and preventive as curative or ministrative. Her spare time might well be spent in instructing mothers' clubs and similar organizations, in social center or institute and other extension talks, in inspecting school children, and in giving occasional instructive talks to them regarding the care of their health and that of the community. No other person perhaps can be of equal help to a community in health protection, for no other comes so intimately into the lives of the people. It is probably desirable that a small fee, of 25 or 50 cents, should be charged for each visit she makes, but this fee should always be remitted upon the request of the person benefiting from the services. In no case should her salary depend in whole or in part upon the fees collected, but it should be met out of the regular funds of the county treasury, and the laws of the State should be so modified as to permit of this, where such modification is necessary. Hers is as important a function as that of any other public servant in the county. Transportation is one of the most difficult problems to be met in this connection, but it is by no means insurmountable.

Another urgent health need for the rural community is that every dweller in the country should have easy access to a hospital when there is need for such. Most of our larger cities are more or less adequately supplied with hospitals and in most of these there is always a limited number of beds which are available even to the very poor. Only the wealthier country people can now afford to make use of the city hospitals. There is great need of county or district hospitals in sufficient number and with facilities adequate for the care of those who cannot receive proper attention at home. In most cases the oversight of the visiting nurse will insure sufficient expert sanitary care for the person who is ill in his own home, but in a certain number of cases either the gravity of the disease, the lack of home facilities, or some other consideration makes it highly desirable, if not imperative, that hospital treatment be available. Hospitals are, of course, expensive and rarely pay for themselves, much less would they be able to do so if operated on the scale and for the purposes here suggested. But hospitals are not so expensive as

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disease unchecked or improperly cared for, and this is a fact which should be more generally appreciated. In connection with the hospitals there should be provided dispensaries from which medicines may be distributed to the poor, who would not otherwise procure them, at cost or even in some cases free. Ultimately we may also hope for public physicians, though such does not seem to be immediately realizable. If the other health agencies here described are effective, there should be less need for the physician, and perhaps the fact that his services come high may in some degree help to reënforce the value of the counsels of the visiting nurse.

Already I have mentioned medical inspection of schools as one of the distinctive health needs of the rural community. Its value is now too generally recognized to require argument by way of reënforcement. To supplement it, however, there should be provided a carefully planned and well executed educational program for the improvement of rural health. Of primary importance in this program is the instruction of school children in the essential facts of sanitation and personal hygiene. In many of the better rural schools much has already been accomplished in this direction. There are now some good text books on the subject which teach in a practical and intelligible way the most necessary facts regarding health. Perhaps the weakest spot in the scheme is the teacher who usually has studied ancient languages or some equally esoteric subject to the neglect of such practical matters as hygiene. As a consequence she has not the experience and background to give her teaching the requisite reality. It is here therefore that occasional lectures by the visiting nurse can be most effective. There is a very pressing need that we revise the course of study in the rural as well as in the urban schools until they inform us about the lives of our own times and people rather than about the lives and languages of peoples who lived a long while ago and whom we shall never see. It is indeed a poor culture which does not teach one how to live well in his own day and world.

The teaching of health and hygiene in the schools will reach the young people, whom after all it is most important to reach. But we must not neglect the older people of the community, for their attitudes of encouragement or discouragement will affect profoundly the value of the lessons to the young, as well as hasten or delay the actual application of our program to their lives. Therefore we need an abundance of plain, practical extension teaching on this subject. Most of our state universities are making some efforts in this direction and the State Boards of Health are frequently doing good work and can do more still. There is no good reason why health extension teaching should not be made available wherever it proves valuable. It can be carried on through local clubs, farmers' institutes, the social center where one has been developed, the rural lecture course, and even the rural church. All of the leading facts about health and sanitation can be easily and clearly presented in public lectures and through bulletins, and people will be interested in them when so offered. Of a more general educational nature, but distinctly valuable in its way, is the rural health survey.

Two diseases from which the rural population suffers more than the urban are nervous and circulatory derangements. Clearly then more than sanitation alone, perhaps more even than health teaching, must be provided for the rural community. There is too much isolation, life is too monotonous, there is too much introspection, too much brooding over problems and difficulties by the rural dweller and too little self-forgetfulness in the presence of others. For this difficulty we must prescribe a better social life, intercourse which gives to the thought new objects of attention and makes life seem less of a struggle and so little a pleasure. Farm women especially are lacking in such contacts. The best remedy here is the social center which coöperates with the home. If contacts are to be broadened, as they should be, care must be taken that they be made restful rather than competitive and destructive of energy. Another indirect menace to health comes from the excessive severity and duration of labor on the farm at certain times of the year. It may not be possible to abolish seasonal labor altogether, nor to find machines to do all of the excessively difficult tasks, but a better system of farm management, more coöperation in farm labor, and a better understanding of the dangers of physical and nervous overstrain should do much to remove some of the worse evils in this connection.

The various methods of improving rural health here suggested will not come of themselves. If we wish to see them realized, we shall have to work for them at least as strenuously as we strive for the other good things of life.

CITY IS HEALTHIER FOR CHILDREN THAN THE COUNTRY[1]

THOMAS D. WOOD

MORE than half of the 20,000,000 school children in the United States are attending rural schools.

Country children attending the rural schools are less healthy and are handicapped by more physical defects than are the children of the cities (including all the children of the slums). And this is true, in general, of all parts of the United States.

My conclusions are based upon all the available official statistics of school children gathered from all parts of the country. As many as 50 or more sources of information were used, and the results compared and collated. These statistics lack uniformity. They contain, doubtless, many errors, but there are probably as many errors in the statistics of the city school children as in those of children in the rural schools. The comparative result, therefore, is accurate.

In every health item the country child is more defective than the city child. This is a most surprising reversal of popular opinion. More than twice as many country children suffer from malnutrition as do city children; the former are also more anemic, have more lung trouble, and include more mental defectives than do the latter.

In an impartial effort to ascertain the causes of present-day country life, so far as health and welfare are concerned, this fact must not be overlooked: Artificial selection, during the last half century especially, has drawn much of the best human stock from the country to the cities. Before that time the tide in the movement of population apparently carried more good human material to the rural regions than away from them.

Another reason for the physical inferiority of country school children and of country people in general is that the science and art of human living, of conserving and improving human health and general human welfare, have advanced much more rapidly in the cities than in the country districts. The problems of safety and comfort as affected by congestion of population and many other conditions of urban life have thrust themselves upon human attention and have received much consideration.

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[1] Adapted from *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* April 2, 1916.

The art of human care has progressed much more slowly in the country. The father in the city spends, on the average, a larger percentage of his income for the welfare of his children than does the father on the farm. The farmer, relatively, raises everything else more carefully and, as a rule, more successfully, than his children.

Still another condition which helps to explain this astonishing inferiority of the country child is the environment. The country home and the country school are, on the average, less sanitary and healthful than the city home and the city school.

It has been assumed that because the country child has all the features of the country, he is, of course, surrounded by fortunate and wholesome conditions. But the possession of all outdoors is far from enough. The farmer's home is, as a rule, insanitary in many respects. It is often terribly unventilated, and the dwellers in the house are fed many hours of the day with bad air. Country water and food are less wholesome than water and food in the city. The standards of living on the American farm, when tested by the accepted principles of sanitation and hygiene, are alarmingly defective.

The rural school, from the standpoint of health and general fitness for its important use, is the worst type of building in the whole country, including not only all types of buildings used for human buildings, but also those used for livestock and all domestic animals. Rural schools are, on the average, less adequate for their use than prisons, asylums, almshouses, stables, dairy barns, pig pens, chicken houses, dog kennels are for their uses.

In the city the best ideas are more readily brought into contact with all of the people. For many in our cities, deprived through poverty of the material necessities of life—intellectual and social as well as physical—a bounteous philanthropy frequently supplies the lack. In the country, on the other hand, the farmers must be persuaded to use their own resources to provide adequately for the welfare of their families, and, most of all, for their children.

To carry this proposal for child betterment directly to the country household would be inadvisable and ineffective; would often arouse resentment. In this phase of human education the direct approach to the home is much less feasible in the country than in the city. The school is, however, the agency endowed by every circumstance for the accomplishment of this great special task of a higher civilization.

After careful consideration of this serious problem of the relatively deficient health of the children in rural schools, the Health Committee of the National Council of Education, in coöperation with the corresponding Health Committee of the American Medical Association, strongly recommend the following measures as a practical program for the solution of the difficulty:

First—Health examination and supervision of all rural school children.

Second—The service of the school or district nurse to provide the practical health service and follow-up work, which (it has been so clearly demonstrated in our cities) can be best accomplished by the school nurse. The work of the nurse is even more vitally important in rural than in city schools.

Fourth—Warm school lunches for all children in rural as well as in city schools. The indirect educational benefits of the school lunches upon the children and the homes are even more important than the immediate health improvement of the children themselves.

Fifth—Correction of physical defects which are interfering with the health, the general development and progress of rural children. For this remedial and constructive health service, practical rural equivalents of medical clinics, dental clinics and community health centers of the cities are urgently needed in all parts of the United States. The county unit organization and administration for health as well as other rural interests has already proved successful and promises the best results. Every county should have one full time health officer, one or more school and district nurses, and one or more community health centers to provide rational, self-supporting health and medical service for all the people.

Sixth—Coöperation of physicians, medical organizations, health boards, and all other available organizations in the rural health program.

Seventh—Effective health instruction for the rural schools which shall aim decisively at the following results:

(a) Establishment of health habits and inculcation of lasting ideas and standards of wise and efficient living in pupils.

(b) Extension of health conduct and care to the school, to the homes, and to the entire community.

Eighth—Better trained and better paid teachers for rural schools, who shall be adequate to the health problems as well as to the other phases of the work of rural education.

Ninth—Sanitary and attractive school buildings, which are essential to the health of pupils and teachers.

Tenth—Generous provision of space and facilities for wholesome play and recreation.

Eleventh—Special classes and schools for the physically and mentally deficient, in which children may receive the care and instruction requisite for their exceptional needs.

Better health is to a striking extent a purchasable commodity and benefit. Vast sums of money are expended from public and private funds for the amelioration of human suffering and disability in the attempt to salvage the wreckage resulting from unfavorable earlier conditions, which with foresight and at very moderate cost might in large measure have been prevented.

Our schools are spending millions in educating, or trying to educate, the children who are kept back by ill-health, when the expenditure of thousands in a judicious health program would produce an extraordinary saving in economy and efficiency. A dollar saved in a wise, constructive effort to conserve a child's health and general welfare will be more fruitful to the child and for the general good than a thousand times that sum delayed for twenty years. The principle of thrift in education finds its first and most vital application in the conservation and improvement of the health of the children.

HEALTH WORK IN CITY AND RURAL SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES

ACTIVITY.	FOR CITY CHILDREN	FOR COUNTRY CHILDREN
Medical inspection laws in 23 States	Mandatory for cities only in 12 States	Mandatory for rural schools in 7 States
Mandatory laws	Apply to all cities	In 7 States
Permissive laws	Enforced in most cities	In 6 of the 13 States having such laws
Medical inspection practiced	In over 400 cities	In 13 States, in parts of 130 counties
Dental inspection by dentists	In 69 cities	Permitted in 2 States, but not yet provided
Dental clinics	In 50 cities	In one rural county (St. John's County, Fla.)
Clinics for eye, nose, throat and other defects	In cities	None
Nurses	750 in 135 cities	In 12-20 rural districts
Open air classes	In cities only	
Athletics and recreation; organized with appropriate facilities and equipment	Virtually all cities and large towns	Little provision in rural schools
Warm lunches in schools	In over 90 cities in 21 States	In a few scattered schools in 9 States

RURAL SANITATION: DEFINITION, FIELD, PRINCIPLES, METHODS, AND COSTS[1]

W. S. RANKIN, M. D.

THE word sanitation refers to civic life; the term rural sanitation refers to rural civic life; the constituted and the common organ through which rural civic life finds expression is the county government; therefore, we may define rural sanitation as the administration of sanitary measures by or through the county government. Rural sanitation finds its parallel in urban sanitation, and county sanitation its parallel in municipal sanitation.

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[1] Adapted from *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. VI, pp. 554-558, June, 1916.

The field of rural sanitation includes more than 99 per cent. of the area and more than half of the population of the United States.

Rural sanitation should be initiated by the state, but executed through the rural civic machinery, the county government. The state should initiate, because the state is the only existing force that can initiate rural or county health work. The county government must carry on the rural sanitation initiated by the state for two reasons: First, should the states undertake to execute, as well as initiate, rural sanitary measures, all of the states, with a few exceptions, would soon realize that their undertaking was far beyond their means; second, no one, or no agency should do for others what they can do for themselves, as such practice leads toward dependence and indifference and away from independence and appreciation. The people are able, when properly shown, to care for themselves, and it is better for them to do this than to have it done for them.

The independence of the county as a governmental unit demands a plan of rural health work that will permit the more progressive counties to go forward, liberating such counties from the possible retarding influence of the backward counties—in short, a plan that permits of leadership and healthy rivalry among counties.

The multiplicity of rural governments is a greater rural sanitary asset, affording a corresponding multiplicity of opportunity. There are 2,953 county governments in the United States, an average of 66 to the state. The county governments of the average state hold over a thousand meetings a year; at practically all of these meetings the state's representatives are welcome and can get a hearing. If the state health officer has a reasonable proposition, with good argument behind it and not too big a budget in front of it, he can influence the county to take one, two, or three steps toward a cleaner civic life. Every meeting of the county government is a challenge to the state department of health to show the county its sanitary needs and how to meet them.

Rural sanitation must be developed on a smaller budget than the budget for urban sanitation. The country is poor. What the exact difference between the urban and rural per capita wealth is in the United States, no one knows, but we do know that rural per capita wealth is much less than the urban per capita wealth.

The influence of epidemicity is weaker in rural than in urban life, and rural quarantine measures need not be as rigid as urban quarantine measures.

Rural sanitation will be influenced by the individualism of the country. The ruralite (a term more expressive than orthodox) is individualistic; the urbanite is communistic. The errors of individualism are best treated by education; the errors of communism are best treated by legislation; therefore, sanitary education is relatively more important in rural sanitation than in urban sanitation, while the reverse is true for sanitary legislation.

There are two general methods by which a county may have sanitary measures carried out: First, the county may do its own work; second, the county may have its work done by some outside agency. The whole-time county health officer is usually regarded as the best solution by the first method, while the unit or contract system of county health work furnishes, probably, the best solution by the second method.

The unit system of county health work assumes, first, the divisibility of county health problems into fairly independent units of health work; second, that a county may get better work for less money by paying the State Board of Health just what it costs to complete a certain piece of work than by attempting to do the work itself. Several illustrations will make the practicability of the unit system clear and perhaps better appreciated.

Illustration No. 1.—The North Carolina State Board of Health proposed to and contracted with ten counties for a county appropriation of $500 to administer free typhoid immunization to those citizens of the ten counties who wished to be immunized. In the first set of five counties we gave complete treatment to 26,537 people; when we completed the work in the next five counties, 50,000 people in the ten counties will have been vaccinated against typhoid fever. This is about one-eighth of the population of the counties treated. In several counties about one-third of the population has been treated.

Illustration No. 2.—Our principal fall and winter work in rural sanitation will be executing contracts for the following unit of school work: For a county appropriation of $10 for each school in the county the State Board of Health agrees to arrange through the county school authorities and with the teachers a program of consecutive health days for each school as follows: Two weeks before health day the principal of the school receives from the State Board of Health a batch of hand bills announcing a date and program for health day. The hand bills also carry an invitation to the patrons of the school to attend the exercises. The teacher distributes these notices through the children to the school community. The representative of the State Board of Health arrives at the school at ten A. M. on health day. He makes a fifteen minute talk to the children and visitors on the importance of a knowledge of the laws of health. He then makes a medical inspection of the pupils and gives each defective child a card to its parents, notifying the parents of the nature of the defect and urging the parents to see the inspector after the evening exercises. The inspector mails a report of the inspection to the State Board of Health, which, through a system of follow-up letters, keeps in touch with the parents of the defective children until they are treated. The inspector then questions the children after the manner of the old-time spelling match on a health catechism, which has been supplied to the school in sufficient number at least one month prior to health day. The health day exercises then adjourn until 8 P. M., at which time the exercises are resumed. The evening exercises consist of from three to four short illustrated lectures by the inspector on the more important subjects of sanitation, interspersed with the reading of selected compositions by the school children. The last item on the program will be the awarding of prizes, the first for the best knowledge of the catechism and the second for the best composition. The inspector will grade, score-card manner, each school on the excellence of its showing, on health day. When this county unit is completed, a county

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prize will be awarded to that school giving the best coöperation in the work; a county prize will be awarded for the best composition, and another prize for the best knowledge of the health catechism. The inspector can handle one rural school a day. It will take two or three days to handle some of the larger village and town schools. In the first county to adopt this unit there are fifty-seven schools which will require a program of practically three months. The inspector will have very hard work for five days in the week, like all school workers, but like them will have Saturday and Sunday to rest. This unit of health work couples medical inspection of school children with the sanitary instructions of the entire community, young and old alike—the young through the catechism, compositions, and lectures, and the old through the lectures, but most of all through the help the children will demand of their parents in learning the catechism, and in preparing the compositions.

This plan of contract county health work greatly increases the appropriation of the State Board of Health; an appropriation from a county is just as useful in doing health work as an appropriation from the state. This plan has great adaptability, and I might say extensibility in proportion to the ingenuity of the operator; under it a unit of infant hygiene work may be developed; under it a unit of anti-malaria work may be carried out; under it a unit of anti-pellagra work may be executed; under it many other more or less independent county health problems may be successfully attempted.

Comparative Value of Methods.—The whole-time county health officer idea proposes a means—an officer; the unit or contract system of county health work proposes an end—the execution of the plans and specifications for a definite piece of work.

The whole-time county health officer idea, if carried out by the county authorities, is subject to local politics; if administered under state supervision it is in conflict with the principle of local self-government. The unit system of county health work is not subject to local politics and does not conflict with the principles of local self-government.

The whole-time county health officer plan costs the county from $3,000 to $4,000 a year, and is available to only a comparatively few counties; the unit system of work costs the county from $500 to $2,000 a year, and is available to nearly all counties.

There are certain counties that should employ whole-time health officers, but the contract or unit system of county health work is better adapted to a variety of county conditions, and will be, in all probability, far more effective than the whole-time county health officer plan in reducing the state's death-rate. The unit system of county health work is important as a stepping stone to the whole-time county health officer. In leading up to the whole-time county health officer, the unit system standardizes county health work, so that, when a whole-time county health officer is employed, an effective plan of county health work will have been established.

The unit system of work or proposed contract submitted by the average state to the county should not call for an appropriation of more than $1,000; $500 is better. The smaller the cost of the unit, the greater is the probability of securing the funds with which to start county health work. After one appropriation is obtained the responsibility is then largely with the state for making such use of it as to pave the way for easier and more liberal funds. The game of sanitation, like the game of life, to use the other fellow's grammar, "is not in holding a good hand but in playing a bad hand good." Even the novice can get results with plenty of money. The intelligent health officer never loses sight of relative values, and the real fun of the game is in getting big results with little budgets. We shall be able to handle the county contagious disease problem for the average county for $300 to $400 per year. We will carry out the school unit for from $500 to $600 a year for the average county or for fifteen cents per pupil. We will have vaccinated 50,000 people in ten counties by September 11, for a cost to the counties of about ten cents for each person immunized.

B. RURAL HEALTH—MENTAL

FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS DEFINED[1]

E. J. EMERICK

FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS is due to an arrested or imperfect cerebral development. By most authorities, a person who is three or more years retarded is considered feeble-minded; for instance, a child of twelve years, whose mental development is that of a child of nine, would be feeble-minded.

The feeble-minded have been divided into three classes: (1) the idiot, (2) the imbecile, and (3) the moron.

(1) The idiot has a mentality of less than three years. He cannot protect himself from common dangers.

(2) The imbecile has a mentality of from three to seven years. He can protect himself from common dangers, but cannot be made self-sustaining.

(3) The moron has a mentality of from seven to twelve years. He is "capable of earning his living under favorable circumstances, but is incapable. . . . (a) of competing on equal terms with his normal fellows, or (b) of managing himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence."

No one needs to be told how to recognize the idiot or imbecile. Their inability to care for themselves, their physical stigmata, and obvious mental limitations make them easily distinguished. For this reason, they do not constitute a serious problem; they are recognized for what they are, and disposed of accordingly.

The moron, on the other hand, may present no physical evidence of deficiency; may be able to perform quite difficult tasks; may read and write; and may talk fluently, sometimes even with a certain superficial cleverness.

This is the class that makes for us our social problems. Here are the individuals who are put down as dull, ignorant or shiftless, or unwilling to exercise their judgment, common sense and will-power. Their resemblance to the normal makes it difficult for many to believe that they cannot be trained to do as normal people do. Bad environment, lack of opportunity, ignorance, and what not, are given as causes for their failure to function normally. But those who have had these brighter defectives in institutions for the feeble-minded, and have watched them from childhood, under most careful training and instruction, know that they never develop beyond a certain stage: and know that there is in these morons a lack as definite as in any other form of feeble-mindedness; a lack which makes it impossible for them to become thoroughly responsible.

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[1] Adapted from "The Problem of the Feeble-minded," Publication No 5, March, 1915. Ohio Board of Administration, Columbus.

At large, the moron may become an alcoholic, prostitute, sex offender, thief, or graver criminal; he is almost sure to be on the very edge of the poverty line, if not an actual pauper. Dr. Goddard tells us "Every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal," and this is particularly true of the moron—the high-grade defective, who passes for normal, yet who lacks in whole or part the sense of values and the will-power so necessary to the law-abiding citizen. He has been misunderstood; he has been credited with a degree of responsibility he does not and cannot possess; he has been sent to correctional institutions time after time only to come out unimproved; and he has been left free to perpetuate his irresponsibility, because we have not realized:

(1) That the moron is not a normal person mentally.

(2) That he can never be made normal, and

(3) That feeble-minded invariably produce feeble-minded unless combined with normal stock.

FUNDAMENTAL FACTS IN REGARD TO FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS[1]

Several important facts regarding mental defectives have been clearly established:

1. Feeble-mindedness is incurable.
2. The feeble-minded reproduce twice as rapidly as normal stock.

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[1] Adapted from "Fifth Annual Report Virginia State Board of Charities," pp. 11, 12, Richmond.

3. Feeble-mindedness is hereditary. There has never been found a normal child both of whose parents are feeble-minded.

4. From 25 to 50 per cent. of our law-breakers are feeble-minded. They are dominated by an inherited tendency to crime. The percentage of commitments for major crimes, such as murder, arson and rape, is apparently twice as great among mental defectives as among normal people.

5. From feeble-mindedness springs, by inheritance, insanity, epilepsy and all forms of neurotic degeneracy.

6. A very large percentage of prostitutes are feeble-minded. In 1911 the Department of Research of the New Jersey Training School for Feeble-minded tested fifty-six delinquent girls, "all of whom had probably committed the worse offense a young girl can." Fifty-two were found to be mental defectives. A test recently made of one hundred girls taken at random from the New York Reformatory for Women at Bedford, by the Bureau of Social Hygiene, established by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., showed that all were apparently feeble-minded. Their average physical age was twenty years, nine and seven-tenths months; their average mental age, ten and five-tenths years. As shown elsewhere in this report, a test of inmates of our reformatory for delinquent white girls revealed the fact that thirty out of thirty-five were mental defectives. Out of 300 women examined by the Massachusetts Vice Commission only six were found to have ordinary intelligence.

In view of these facts it is apparent that our great problems of crime, insanity and the social evil are inseparably intertwined with the problem of feeble-mindedness. Whatever progress we may make in the treatment of criminals there can be no great reduction of crime so long as we ignore the fact of criminal inheritance, and whatever we may do toward the segregation of the insane, or toward the suppression of the social evil, we shall contribute little toward the actual solution of these problems so long as we make no attempt to stem the appalling tide of feeble-minded offspring that is increasingly pouring forth from our large and ever-growing class of mental defectives. So far as modern investigation enables us to see, the most pressing social need of our time is the segregation of the feeble-minded.

THE HILL FOLK[1]

FLORENCE H. DANIELSON AND CHARLES B. DAVENPORT

The following report is the result of an investigation of two family trees in a small Massachusetts town. It aims to show how much crime, misery and expense may result from the union of two defective individuals—how a large number of the present court frequenters, paupers and town nuisances are connected by a significant network of relationship. It includes a discussion of the undesirable traits in the light of the Mendelian analysis. It presents some observations concerning the relation of heredity and environment, based on their effects upon the children. While it is not an exhaustive study of all the ramifications of even these two families and their consorts, it may be sufficient to throw some light on the vexed question of the prevention of feeble-minded, degenerate individuals, as a humane and economical state policy.

The town in question lies in a fertile river valley among the New England hills. It is on the direct railway line between two prosperous cities. East and west of it are more hilly, less productive towns. Its present population is about 2,000. Most of the people are industrious, intelligent farmers. A lime kiln and a marble quarry are the only industries of importance. In summer the population is nearly doubled by city boarders.

Into one corner of this attractive town there came, about 1800, a shiftless basket maker. He was possibly of French origin, but migrated more directly from the western hill region. About the same time an Englishman, also from the western hills, bought a small farm in the least fertile part of the town. The progeny of these two men, old Neil Rasp,[2] and the Englishman, Nuke, have sifted through the town and beyond it.

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[1] Adapted from Excerpts from Report on a Rural Community of Hereditary Defectives. Eugenics Record Office—Memoir No. 1, Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y.

[2] The few names which are used in the description of this community are fictitious. The local setting and the families and all the other details actually exist, but for obvious reasons imaginary names are in every case substituted for the real ones.

Everywhere they have made desolate, alcoholic homes which have furnished State wards for over fifty years, and have required town aid for a longer time. Enough of the families still live in the original neighborhood so that, although they occupy tenant houses of respectable farmers, for they own no land now, the district of the ''Hill'' is spoken of slurringly. Where the children have scattered to neighboring towns, they do not remain long enough to secure a residence and are consequently referred back to the original town when they require outside aid. As the younger generations have grown up, they have, almost without exception, married into American families of the same low mental grade, so that the ''Hill'' people are linked by their consorts to a similar degenerate family a hundred miles away.

The attitude of the townspeople is that of exasperated neighbors. They have lived beside these troublesome paupers for so long that they are too disgusted with them, and too accustomed to the situation, to realize the necessity for aggressive work upon it. A few of them realize that hard cider is a large factor in the cause of their neighbors' poverty, but more of them, apparently ignoring the fact, keep it on tap free or sell it. This poor class of people are left largely to themselves until they need town aid, or some member becomes so drunk that he disturbs the peace, or some girl becomes pregnant and has to be taken to an institution. About once every eight or ten years, a state agent is informed of the conditions, and four or five children are removed from the families. Then the father and mother find that their financial problems are relieved for the time and settle down to raise another family.

A few of the men and some of the women have soldier's or widow's pensions and state aid, but most of them work, when they do work, as wood choppers or farm laborers. Most of their wages go for hard cider or, if handed to the wives, are spent in other equally foolish ways. They move frequently from one shanty or tumbled down house to another. So long as food and a small amount of clothing are furnished by some means, they live in bovine contentment.

From the biological standpoint, it is interesting to note that mental defect manifests itself in one branch of the pedigree by one trait and in another branch by quite a different one. Thus, in one line alcoholism is universal among the men; their male cousins in another line are fairly temperate, plodding workers, but the women are immoral. Another branch shows all the men to be criminal along sexual lines, while a cousin who married into a more industrious family has descendants who are a little more respectable. These people have not been subjected to the social influences of a city or even of a large town, so that the traits which they show have been less modified by a powerful social environment than those of urban dwellers.

The conclusion of this brief survey, then, must be that the second and third generations from a union of mentally defective individuals show an accumulation and multiplication of bad traits, even though a few normal persons also appear from such unions. It is also evident that certain traits tend to follow certain lines of descent, so that after one generation, related families may each have a different characteristic trait. Feeblemindedness is due to the absence, now of one set of traits, now of quite a different set. Only when both parents lack one or more of the same traits do the children all lack the traits. So, if the traits lacking in both parents are socially important the children all lack socially important traits, *i.e.*, are feeble-minded. If, on the other hand, the two parents lack different socially significant traits, so that each parent brings into the combination the traits that the other lacks, all of the children may be without serious lack and all pass for ''normal.'' However, inasmuch as many of the traits of such ''normals'' are derived from one side of the house only (are simplex), that may, on mating persons of like origin with themselves, produce obviously defective offspring.

The large majority of the matings which are represented in this report are of defectives with defectives. A few of those who have drifted into a different part of the country have married persons of a higher degree of intelligence, but the most of such wanderers have, even in a new location, found mates who were about their equal in intelligence and ambition.

In a rural district which supports such a class of semi-paupers as has been described the social advantages which come to them are meager and narrow. After a long day's work on the farm or in the kitchen, the farm laborer and kitchen girl find their recreation in an evening of gossip, for they know every one in the neighborhood. They may live near enough to their homes to go there at night. If such is the case, one dirty kitchen may hold half a dozen men and the women of the house. They smoke and drink cider and pass rude jests together and in the end sometimes fight. Away from home, they are ostracized by the other social classes. They occasionally have a dance which will bring together many of the same class from neighboring towns.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that early marriages are the rule. After the legal age is passed, school work is dropped and, for a girl, the servant's life often begins, unless she is married at once. At any rate she anticipates marriage and works with that as a goal, not to escape work, but to gain a certain independence and that end of all effort, "to be married." Nor is it surprising that cousin marriages are frequent. In fact, even where no known relationship exists between the contracting parties, it is probable that they are from the same strains. The early marriage is usually followed by a large family of children. Some die in infancy in nearly every home, but most of them survive a trying babyhood and develop fairly robust physical constitutions. They are born into the same narrow circle that their parents were, and unless some powerful factor changes the routine, they are apt to follow the same path until past middle age. For, except where tuberculosis has ravaged, disease has spared these people. So it is that the meager social life, the customs of their parents, the natural ostracism of the higher classes, and the individual's preference for a congenial mate induce endogamy, or in-marriage, among the mentally deficient.

It has been maintained that the dispersion of such communities of feeble-minded persons would stimulate out-marriage and that this would increase the chance of marriage with different and perhaps better blood and thus diminish the frequency of appearance of defects in the next generation. The instances of two daughters who married comparatively normal men supports this view. Their progeny are, as a whole, a better class of citizens than the progeny of their sisters who mated with feeble-minded men. Nevertheless, the 50 per cent. of the offspring who were feeble-minded or criminal, even in these cases, constitute a menace which should be considered. Another case was from a criminal, alcoholic family and possessed both of these traits. He migrated to another state and married a woman who had more intelligence than either of the normal husbands (before mentioned). Only one of their children shows the criminal tendencies of the father, though the two youngest are neurotic, and backward in school. After the mother found out the real character of her husband and his family, she left him. While such repression of defective traits in the progeny by marriage into normal strains is beneficial to the community, it involves a great sacrifice on the part of the normal consort. However, the consort is only one; the progeny many. The more frequent result of the migration of a feeble-minded individual is his marriage into another defective strain in a different part of the country. The change in locality usually means that two different kinds of feeble-mindedness are united instead of two similar types.

Looking at the relation of the Hill families to society on the financial side, we see the three chief ways in which they have been an expense to the public are through town relief, court and prison charges, and their maintenance as the State wards. The town of about 2,000 inhabitants in which the original ancestors settled has had to bear most the burden of the petty bills for relief. The poor records of this one town have been used to get an estimate of the cost of these families to the town, and these records run back only to war time. From 1863–64 to the present time, some families of the Hill have had partial or entire public support. In the first decade 9.3 per cent. of the town's bill for paupers was paid for the Hill families. In the second decade, 29.1 per cent of the total bill was paid for the same families or their descendants. During the thirty years covered by these decades, the total aid given to paupers increased 69.4 per cent., but that given to the Hill families increased 430 per cent. It is probable that more than 9.3 per cent. of the $15,964 expended from 1879–89 went to these people, for in some instances the names of those aided were not recorded. Besides the usual bills for rent, provisions, fuel, and medical attendance, the last decade contains the item of partial support of three children in the State School for Feeble-minded. The births, minus the deaths, during this same period caused an increase of about 59 per cent. in the number of individuals connected with the Hill families. This means, then, that for 59 per cent. increase in numbers, their expense to the public has increased 430 per cent.

Turning to the court and prison records for the last thirty years, we find that at least sixteen persons from the Hill families have been sentenced to prison for serious crimes during that time. A majority of these crimes were against sex, and the sentences varied from ten years to two months, or were indeterminate. The cost of these sixteen persons to the county and State through the courts and institutions has been at least $10,763.43. The arrests for drunkenness and disorder have not been included. They are very frequent and the cases are usually disposed of by a fine or thirty days' imprisonment. About a third of the business of the district court comes from these families.

The third large item of expense which falls upon the public, through the State treasury, is the maintenance of the wards which have been taken from their homes.

Of the thirty-five, twenty-one are still under the control of the State as institutional cases or because they are under twenty-one years. The expenses of commitment, board, clothing, school tuition and officers' salaries is difficult to compute, but as accurately as can be estimated, these children, during the last twenty-three years, have cost the State $45,888.57. This means that for nine families about $2,000 each year has been expended to maintain children whose parents were unfit to care for them.

The financial burden, then, which the Hill people entail is constantly increasing, and that far beyond the proportion of their increase in numbers. This burden rests especially upon the town in which they live. The 400 per cent. increase in the finacial aid which they have required in the last decade presents this fact in a startling manner. The large percentage of the crimes which were against sex indicate that the influence which such persons exert in a community is of far more importance than the 10,700 odd dollars spent in punishing the criminals after the influence has been established. The money expended on the State wards is well spent where even half of them are trained for useful citizenship, but the imposition upon society of an equal number of undesirable citizens calls for a policy of prevention which will work hand in hand with the present one of partial alleviation.

Most of the previous discussion has been in regard to the first four generations,—those individuals who are old enough to have their traits fully developed and their habits firmly established. There is, however, a comparatively large number of children between the ages of six and sixteen years who are growing up to form the fifth generation of the Hill people. A brief study of the school record of seventy-five of these children may give one an idea of the prospect for the next generation.

The school record of seven of them is not known. The others have been divided into two classes, those who are up to grade and those who are below the grade they should be in. Brief descriptions of the mental traits which they have exhibited in school serve as an index of the characteristics which are developing. Glancing down the list of thirty-eight children who are below grade, two causes for their backwardness stand out most prominently. Either they are unable to fix their attention upon one thing long enough to grasp it, or else they require so much more time to comprehend ideas upon which they have concentrated, that they progress only half as fast as the average child. They are frequently irregular in attendance so that they even lose the stimulus of regular systematic work. All of these children attend rural schools where no special provision is made for the backward child. Because the schools are so small, this class of children not only constitute a drain upon the teacher's time and resources, but retard the progress of the entire class in which they are studying. Occasionally they develop mischievous qualities, but usually they are quiet, stupid laggards. They will leave school as soon as the law will allow and go to form the lower strata in the industrial world as they have in the academic. Five of these thirty-eight have one parent who is approximately normal.

Thirty children from similar families have kept up to their grade. Most of them do as well as children of ordinary parentage, though only eleven of them have one or both parents who are not feeble-minded. A few of them are the slow ones in their classes.

This brief survey, then, indicates that before adolescence half of the children from the Hill families show evidences of their mental handicap. The detrimental influence which such children may exert upon the rural schools which they attend is an important matter for consideration. How many of the other half, who have held their own with children of average parentage, up to adolescence, will be able to keep up to the same standard from sixteen to twenty-five is an open question. Its solution depends largely upon the comparative weight of hereditary and environmental influences during that period.

THE EXTENT OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS IN RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE [1]

One of the most significant studies that can be made in the survey of these counties is the geographic distribution of the feeble-minded and the proportion of the entire state population that falls within this defective class. Since there has been a report from every town in the State, either by questionnaire or personal canvass, this proportion may be considered fairly correct even though many cases have not been reported.

One of the most significant revelations of this table is the range of feeble-mindedness gradually ascending from the smallest percentage, in the most populous county of the State, to the largest percentages, in the two most remote and thinly populated counties. It speaks volumes for the need of improving rural conditions, of bringing the people in the remote farm and hill districts into closer touch with the currents of healthy, active life in the great centers. It shows that a campaign should begin at once,—this very month,—for the improvement of rural living conditions, and especially for the improvement of the rural schools, so that the children now growing up may receive the education that is their birthright. Let us have compulsory supervision of schools all over the State, as well as compulsory school attendance.

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[1] Adapted from Report of the Children's Commission, Concord, N. H.

The feeble-minded population of the State does not appear to be a shifting one. Of the 8.9 per cent. of cases born in New Hampshire, but outside the town of present residence, the majority were born within the county as well, often in an adjacent town, and the majority of those born in the United States, but outside of New Hampshire, were born in one of the other New England states.

FEEBLE-MINDED CITIZENS IN PENNSYLVANIA[1]

DR. WILHELMINE E. KEY

Dr. Key's report is based upon a four months' intensive study of a rural community in northeastern Pennsylvania, containing about 700 square miles and a population of 16,000.

The purpose of the study was to determine the number of mentally defective persons in this community, and their cost to the people of Pennsylvania, as well as to discover possible remedies for a condition that experts agree becomes rapidly worse wherever left unchecked.

Dr. Key found in this district 508 persons, ranging in age from six years upward, who were feeble-minded—that is, who were either clearly mentally defective, or who, being members of the family of such a defective, have been so affected by their associations and environment as to be indistinguishable from mental defectives in their conduct and social and family relations.

In other words, more than three defectives not in institutions were found for every 100 of the population of this Pennsylvania community. This enumeration did not include a considerable number of shiftless, indolent, inefficient persons, who had no clear mental or physical defect, but who, in a stricter classification, might be classed with the defectives, so far as their effect upon the community is concerned. Nor did it include children under six, unless they were obviously and unmistakably defective.

A careful house-to-house study, oft-repeated, verified and amplified by examination of official records and family histories and by consultation with well-informed neighbors and social workers, developed several striking conclusions:

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[1] Adapted from Report of The Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, pp. 8–9; 36–46; 61–62. Publication No. 16. Phila., 1915.

(1) Certain centers of mental and moral degeneracy and defect were found, which corresponded closely with the distribution of certain well-known mentally tainted family stocks. In two little settlements, for instance, on the edge of the area studied, it was found that 57.7 per cent. and 26.6 per cent. of the population were mentally defective, in the sense above indicated. Examination revealed the fact that these settlements were the original seats of two families that were notably defective. By inbreeding and inter-breeding, the original small groups, after several generations had brought forth hundreds of their own kind, and other hundreds who were on the borderline of inefficiency and mental defectiveness.

Not only by drawing together representatives of their own and other bad strains, but by attracting weak members of better and normal families, these settlements became centers of constantly widening and contaminating influence, the more aggressive members going out to found other centers of contamination.

(2) From figures supplied by the officers of the county most directly concerned, Dr. Key shows that the actual financial cost to the county, for caring for and protecting against these defective groups during the last twenty-five years, has been at least $265,000, of which $125,000 was actually spent for maintenance of representatives of these families in the county home for varying periods; $30,000 for care of orphans; $75,000 for settlement of criminal cases outside of court; $15,000 for settlement of criminal cases in court, and $20,000 for outdoor or home relief. This takes no account of the cost of their private depredations, nor of private charity, nor free medical attendance, nor necessary extra police service, nor drink bill, etc.

In this connection Dr. Key says:

"Could this sum have been applied to the segregation of its feeble-minded women, it would have sufficed to rid the county of the whole of its younger generation of undesirables. We must bear in mind, however, that at present the State has no institution for the care of such women . . . The training-schools for the feeble-minded are overcrowded and have long waiting lists . . . Our short-sighted policy . . . has not even the merit of being inexpensive. It costs a great deal of money and then serves only to aggravate the evils which it is designed to cure. . . . The county has done the best it could with the means at hand. Surely it is high time that the State inaugurate a more intelligent and far-reaching policy which shall forever rid these sections of their unequal and undeserved burden."

(3) There is a very distinct tendency for mental defect to run in certain families, indicating the strong hereditary influence, which can only be checked by steps to prevent marriage and continued propagation of the kind.

(4) Comparisons between groups of forty-five defective women, and forty-five normal women in the same area, showed that the average birth-rate for defectives was seven children to each mother, while that of the normal women was two and nine-tenths children for each mother. This excess of defective births was not offset by higher mortality rate among defectives, the actual survivals of children of defective mothers being twice as great as in normal families.

While it is recognized that this narrow inquiry, covering so few cases, is not to be accepted as conclusive, it seems clear that in this particular area, the tendency to multiplication is considerably greater among defectives than among normals, thus intensifying and emphasizing the problem of caring for and preventing the unlimited propagation of mentally tainted children.

(5) Centers of defectiveness have flourished where remedial agencies have been most active for relief of external conditions. The lightening of the struggle for existence which this relief brings only makes it easier for the defective to live on, procreate and multiply his kind. The root of the evil lies not primarily in external conditions, but in the failure to separate and restrain inherently defective individuals from propagation.

An interesting sidelight on the situation is contained in Dr. Key's study of the rural school, in relation to the defective. This disclosed 160 pupils whose inability to advance could be laid primarily to hereditary defect. The detailed histories of fifty such children are given in the report. An instance is cited, where, of forty children in a certain school, ten were defective, or retarded in their revelopment from two to four years. The effect of these children upon the normal children, and the waste effort expended by and for the defectives is one of the sound arguments for wider State supervision and care of defectives.

In conclusion, Dr. Key remarks:

"No sensible person to-day questions the State's authority to cleanse a polluted water supply or take any measures deemed necessary to stop the spread of disease. . . . Why should it not exercise the same jurisdiction with regard to these plague spots, the sources of moral contagion?"

She strongly urges the need of locating the worst centers of degeneracy and defect; registration of notoriously bad strains; marriage laws to restrain marriage into these strains; establishment of adequate institutions immediately, for the custodial care of those whose continued multiplication cannot be prevented by these means.

AMENTIA IN RURAL ENGLAND[1]

A. W. TREDGOLD

Showing the total number of aments, and idiots, imbeciles, and feeble-minded, respectively, per 1,000 population, in certain districts of the United Kingdom, according to the investigation of the Royal Commission, 1904.

		Idiots	Imbeciles	Feeble-minded		Total Aments
				Adults	Children	
Urban	Manchester	0.05	0.32	1.20	2.10	3.74
	Birmingham ...	0.09	0.27	1.70	1.60	3.76
	Hull	0.02	0.20	0.55	0.58	1.35
	Glasgow	0.07	0.23	0.32	1.00	1.68
	Dublin	0.19	0.57	1.20	2.10	4.14
	Belfast	0.13	0.63	0.70	0.97	2.45
Industrial	Stoke-on-Trent..	0.21	0.45	2.10	1.10	3.96
	Durham	0.02	0.34	0.56	0.56	1.48
	Cork	0.07	0.32	0.16	0.54	1.10
Mixed Industrial and Agricultural	Nottinghamshire	0.30	0.66	1.50	1.20	3.81
	Carmarthenshire	0.59	0.65	0.51	1.20	3.05
Agricultural	Somersetshire ..	0.18	1.00	2.10	1.10	4.54
	Wiltshire	0.35	0.69	2.20	0.90	4.25
	Lincolnshire ...	0.44	0.98	1.40	1.70	4.68
	Carnarvonshire.	0.24	0.58	2.10	0.94	3.96
	Galway	0.13	1.00	1.00	2.20	4.49

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[1] Adapted from "Mental Deficiency," p. 12, Wood, N. Y., 1908.

URBAN AND RURAL INSANITY[1]

In general the statistics indicate that there is relatively more insanity in cities than in country districts and in large cities than in small cities, although to some extent the difference may be accounted for by difference between city and country as regards the tendency to place cases of insanity under institutional care. The figures may also be affected in some degree by the accident of the location of the hospitals for the insane. Studies made in New York State show that the proportion of admissions from a county in which a hospital is located is always greater than from other counties and that the proportion decreases with the distance from the hospital. The influence of this factor upon the comparison between city and country, however, would not everywhere be uniform. Whether it tended to increase the ratio of admissions from country districts or that from city districts would depend entirely upon the location of the hospitals. Probably it does not go very far toward explaining the higher ratio of admissions from the urban population.

The ratio of admission to hospitals for the insane is higher for urban than for rural communities for both males and females, and the difference is about as marked for one sex as for the other. It follows that the difference between the sexes with regard to this ratio is about as marked in urban communities as it is in rural, the one statement being a corollary of the other.

One difficulty, however, about all comparisons of this kind as applied to the United States as a whole is that the urban population and the rural are very differently distributed over the territory of the United States. New England and the Middle Atlantic divisions together include 45 per cent. of the total urban population of the United States, as compared with only 13.5 per cent. of the rural population. If to these two divisions is added the East North Central the combined area includes 67.6 per cent., or about two-thirds, of the urban population, but only 31 per cent., or less than one-third, of the rural population. The three southern divisions, on the other hand, contain a much smaller proportion of the urban population than of the rural—15.5 per cent. of the one as compared with 46.1 per cent. of the other. The characteristics of the rural population of the United States, therefore, are affected to a large degree by conditions peculiar to the South, while those of the urban population largely reflect conditions in the North and East; and, in general, any comparison between urban and rural population is to a considerable extent a comparison between the North and East on the one hand and the South and West on the other.

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[1] Adapted from "Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910." Dept. of Commerce, U. S. Bur. of Census, pp. 49–51. Published 1914.

WHAT IS PRACTICABLE IN THE WAY OF PREVENTION OF MENTAL DEFECT[1]

WALTER E. FERNALD

During the last decade four factors have materially changed the professional and popular conception of the problem of the feeble-minded.

1. The widespread use of mental tests has greatly simplified the preliminary recognition of ordinary cases of mental defect and done much to popularize the knowledge of the extent and importance of feeble-mindedness.

2. The intensive studies of the family histories of large numbers of the feeble-minded by Goddard, Davenport and Tredgold have demonstrated what had hitherto only been suspected, that the great majority of these persons are feeble-minded because they come from family stocks which transmit feeble-mindedness from generation to generation in accordance with the laws of heredity. Many of the members of these families are not defective themselves, but these normal members of tainted families are liable to have a certain number of defectives among their own descendants. The number of persons who are feeble-minded as a result of injury, disease or other environmental conditions without hereditary predisposition is much smaller than had been suspected, and these accidental cases do not transmit their defect to their progeny.

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[1] Read before the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Baltimore, 1915, being the report of the Conference Committee on State Care of the Insane, Feeble-minded and Epileptic. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Conference.

3. The cumulative evidence furnished by surveys, community studies, and intensive group inquiries has now definitely proved that feeble-mindedness is an important factor as a cause of juvenile vice and delinquency, adult crime, sex immorality, the spread of venereal disease, prostitution, illegitimacy, vagrancy, pauperism, and other forms of social evil and social disease.

4. Our estimates of the extent and the prevalence of feeble-mindedness have been greatly increased by the application of mental tests, the public school classes for defectives, the interpretation of the above mentioned anti-social expressions of feeble-mindedness, and the intensive community studies.

It is becoming evident that some central governmental authority should be made responsible for the supervision, assistance and control of the feeble-minded at large in the community who are not properly cared for by their friends. This proposal is not so revolutionary as it seems, for a large proportion of feeble-minded people at some time in their lives now come under the jurisdiction of public authorities or private societies as dependents or as irresponsible law-breakers. Many feeble-minded persons eventually become permanent public charges. Many run the gauntlet of the police, the courts, the penal institutions, the almshouses, the tramp shelters, the lying-in hospitals, and often many private societies and agencies, perhaps, eventually to turn up in the institutions for the feeble-minded. At any given time, it is a matter of chance as to what state or local or private organization or institution is being perplexed by the problems they present. They are shifted from one organization or institution to another as soon as possible. At present there is no bureau or officer with the knowledge and the authority to advise and compel proper care and protection for this numerous and dangerous class.

This state supervision of the feeble-minded might be done successfully by some existing organization like a properly constituted state board of health, or state board of charities, or by a special board or official; but the responsible official should be a physician trained in psychiatry, with especial knowledge of all phases of mental deficiency and its many social expressions. The local administration of this plan could be carried out by the use of existing local health boards, or other especially qualified local officials or, perhaps better, by the utilization of properly qualified volunteer social workers, or existing local private organizations and societies, already dealing with dependents or delinquents. This systematic supervision and control, could easily be made to cover an entire State, and would obviate the present needless, costly and futile reduplication of effort.

The most immediately practical method of prevention is that of intelligent segregation. The average family is entirely free from mental defect. It is possible that a real eugenic survey of a given locality might show that 90 per cent. of the feeble-mindedness in that locality was contributed by 5 per cent. of the families in that community. The proposed governmental supervision of the feeble-minded, with its sequence of registration, extra-institutional visitation, accumulation of personal and family histories, coöperation with private organizations, public school classes for defectives, and mental clinics, would soon indicate the individuals most likely to breed other defectives. The families with strong potentiality of defect would be recognized and located. We know that if both parents are hereditarily feeble-minded, all the children will be defective, and that if one parent is feeble-minded, on an average half of the children will be defective. Families and settlements of the *Kallikak, Nam* or *Hill-folk* class, the so-called *hovel* type, can be broken up and terminated by segregation of the members of the child-bearing age. Every feeble-minded girl or woman of the hereditary type, especially of the moron class, not adequately protected, should be segregated during the reproductive period. Otherwise she is almost certain to bear defective children, who, in turn, breed other defectives. The male defectives are probably less likely to become parents, but many male morons also should be segregated. This segregation carried out thoroughly for even one generation would largely reduce the number of the feeble-minded.

The cost of segregation will be large, but not so large as the present cost of caring for these same persons, to say nothing of their progeny in future generations. These people are seldom self-supporting and most of them are eventually supported by the public in some way. From the economic standpoint, alone, no other investment could be so profitable. The present generation is the trustee for the inherent quality as well as for the material welfare of future generations. In a few years the expense of institutions and farm colonies for the feeble-minded will be counterbalanced by the reduction in the population of almshouses, prisons and other expensive institutions. When the feeble-minded are recognized in childhood and trained properly, many of them are capable of being supported at low cost under institution supervision.

The State will never be called upon to place all the feeble-minded in institutions. Many cases will never need segregation —small children of both sexes, cases properly cared for at home with or without supervision, many adult males and adult females past the child-bearing period. Eugenic study will recognize the non-hereditary cases who cannot transmit their defect, and who do not need segregation for this reason. The one great obstacle to effective prevention of feeble-mindedness is the lack of definite, precise knowledge. This knowledge can only be supplied by long-continued scientific research along many lines of inquiry. We do not even know the exact number of the feeble-minded. This fact will be supplied by the future community surveys and other extensive and intensive studies.

And, after all, the meaning of this report is that in the long run education in the broadest sense will be the most effective method in a rational movement for the diminution of feeble-mindedness. One of the principal advantages of the proposed plan for state registration and supervision of the feeble-minded is the opportunity it gives for the general education of the people of the State upon this subject. The public generally should be persistently informed as to its extent, causes and results by means of suitable literature, popular lectures, and other means. This field offers a great and useful opportunity to mental hygiene societies and other similar organizations for disseminating knowledge on this subject, for, under present conditions, it will be many years before local communities have an equal realization of the nature of the problem, or are prepared to deal with it.

The principles of heredity as they are unfolded, and especially of morbid heredity, should be taught in the colleges, the normal schools, and, indeed, in the high schools. The adolescent has a right to be informed upon a subject which is of supreme importance to himself, to his family and to his descendants. The great majority of these young people will later marry and become parents. The dangers of marriage with persons of diseased stock should be presented plainly. The most important point is that feeble-mindedness is highly hereditary, and that each feeble-minded person is a potential source of an endless progeny of defect. No feeble-minded person should be allowed to marry or to become a parent.

Even the normal members of a definitely tainted family may transmit defect to their own children, especially if they mate with one with similar hereditary tendencies. If the hereditary tendency is marked and persistent, the normal members of the family should not marry. Certain families should become extinct. Parenthood is not for all. Persons of good heredity run a risk of entailing defect upon their descendants when they marry into a family with this hereditary taint. Intelligent people are usually willing to forego a proposed marriage if the possibilities of defective heredity in that mating are fully understood. The immediate sacrifice is less painful than the future devoted to the hopeless care of feeble-minded children. The class of people who are not amenable to reason in respect to this question must be dealt with through the general educational influences which have been outlined in this report.

When the natural leaders of thought in the community—the teachers, physicians, lawyers and clergymen—are fully informed on this subject they will help to create the strong public sentiment which will demand the passage of necessary laws, and will secure sufficient appropriations to eventually ensure the intelligent protection and control of the feeble-minded persons in that community.

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CHAPTER IX

RURAL RECREATION, DRAMA, ART

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF CHARLES LOUNSBURY

"ITEM: I devise to boys jointly all the useful fields and commons where ball may be played; all pleasant waters where one may swim; all snow-clad hills where one may coast; and all streams and ponds where one may fish, or where, when grim winter comes, one may skate; to have and to hold the same for the period of their boyhood.

"Item: To young men jointly I devise and bequeath all boisterous, inspiring sports of rivalry, and I give to them the disdain of weakness and undaunted confidence in their own strength, though they be rude; I give them the power to make lasting friendships, and of possessing companions, and to them exclusively I give all merry songs and brave choruses, to sing with lusty voices."

THE NEED OF PLAY IN RURAL LIFE[1]

HENRY S. CURTIS

IN the early days there was plenty of hunting and fishing, and there was an occasional scalping party, conducted by the Indians, which gave variety to life and prevented it from being dull. Such conditions brought out the manhood in boys and awoke the heroic in girls. There was not the time or energy or often the opportunity for vice. Men and women living under such conditions did not see the need of play. Life itself was a desperate game of engrossing interest. The farmer has been too busy improving his farm to take thought of social conditions or to notice the change. In his haste to be rich, he has forgotten to live. He has not learned to love nature or his work. He and his wife are working too long hours themselves, and working their sons and daughters too long. Following a plow or a drag over a cultivated field is not as interesting as felling the trees in the forest and burning the clearing. Much farm machinery has been introduced and the work and hardships have become less. Perhaps the farm is not less interesting to the adult farmer who is trained to handle machinery and to understand the problems with which he has to deal, but country life is vastly less interesting to children and young people, because its danger and romance are gone. The nature appeal of great forests, and wild animals and a wild life is gone. The adventure and romance and exploration are gone. The opportunities of taking up new land and becoming a proprietor have largely gone. The coöperation and sociability of the pioneer have been replaced by the independence that has come with safety and labor-saving devices. The rural school is no more a social center. The results of these conditions are upon us. Forty-three per cent. of American farms are now held by tenants. It is very difficult if not impossible to get either a hired girl or a hired man in most sections. The more capable members of the population are drifting toward the city, and there is a vague but general unrest and dissatisfaction among the younger generation, which is the outward expression of this hunger for a larger life.

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[1] Adapted from Introduction, "Play and Recreation," pp. 13-16, Ginn, Boston, 1914.

The country must take seriously this problem of readjustment. It must provide some substitute for the adventure and romance and sociability that have disappeared. It must break the isolation and spirit of self-sufficiency of the modern farm that has replaced the interdependence and sociability of the pioneer. It must restore to the country school at least as much of social value as it had in the old days of spelling matches and debates. It must appropriate for itself the message of the modern gospel of play. This should not come to the country as something wholly new, but rather as a restoration and a readjustment. It is essentially an effort to give back to life those fundamental social values of which changing conditions have deprived it.

Rural life has become over-serious and over-sordid. It must perceive that life and love and happiness, not wealth, are the objects of living. There must be injected into it the spirit of play. The isolation of the farm home must be broken by establishing some place where farm people will frequently meet together, and the colder and freer months must be more largely utilized for education, recreation, and the public good. The hours of work must be reduced, and the half holiday must be brought in. The country must discover again in its daily life the adventure and romance and beauty that have passed.

All too often in these years of earnest struggle for success, the children have been only a by-product of the farm. The farmer has loved and cared for them, but the rearing and training of a worthy family has not been one of his objects in life. He has cared for his corn and potatoes, but his children have "just growed." Play he has often confounded either with idleness or exercise, deeming it only a useless waste of energy, better devoted to pulling weeds or washing dishes. Yet playfulness is almost synonymous with childhood; it is the deepest expression of the child soul, and nature's instrument for fashioning him to the human plan. Play is needed by the country child no less than by the city child; but, with decreasing families and enlarging farms, it is becoming increasingly difficult. The equipment that is necessary must be introduced into the home and the yard. Play must be organized at the country school, as it is coming to be at the city school. The social center, the Boy Scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls must bring back the adventure and romance that the country has lost. The rural school must train the child to perceive and love the beauty of the open country, to hear the thousand voices in which Nature speaks to her true worshipers.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN RURAL SCHOOLS[1]

LAURENCE S. HILL

Physical education in rural schools is a problem that has not yet been satisfactorily solved. It is a problem that presents several angles. We must determine the needs not alone of the boys and girls of the rural schools but also the needs of the rural communities in a physical, moral and social way. We must determine what physical education should include and how to inaugurate and organize its various phases.

There has been rather consistent opposition to physical education in the rural communities. Judging from the testimony of several district superintendents and many teachers of rural schools and from our own experience in New York State, we must conclude that opposition to this so-called "fad" has its beginning in several facts. First, it involves the expenditure of money. This has been our experience in the solution of most problems as well as in the accomplishment of most aims. The problem is indeed difficult of solution when communities come to value money more highly than they do activities that make for greater social, moral and physical efficiency. It is easy to measure the value of tangible things, but difficult to estimate the growth in education, refinement and culture on the part of the child. This is the reason why people generally are willing to spend money in those things the results of which are apparent at once and measurable in dollars and cents, but hesitate and often refuse to give to their own community those things which are necessary for the fullest development of the boys and girls.

Another reason for opposition to physical education in the rural schools is that the people of these communities do not realize the value of this phase of education. They do not appreciate the need for a well-organized health program. They haven't the right conception of what it is, what it includes and what it should accomplish. The feeling is general that they are getting all the physical education they need in their daily labors. They point with complacency to the fact that they have all the fresh air there is; the city people may need physical education, —not they. They do not know the corrections necessary for occupational defects, the physical need of social life, and of that type of activity which will diminish the exaggerated awkwardness of the country lad. Here, too, the rural school-teacher is apparently lost. She is apt to know nothing or very little about physical education and health education. She takes a very small part in the affairs of the community. She has not made herself felt in the life of the child out of the school. The teaching of physical training seems but to add one more burden to the many she is already carrying. She is not capable of giving a good account of herself in the health education of the child. She therefore is opposed to it. Not the least of all causes for opposition is that in many of those districts where physical training has already been inaugurated the instructors supervising the work have not been properly trained. Their knowledge of physical education is limited. Is it not just possible that this last-mentioned fact may in some degree be attributed to the systems of physical training common in various institutions of learning throughout the country in which the supervisor, perchance, has learned gymnastics but missed the mark in physical education? From some of these institutions one gets the notion that *athletics* is physical training, or *calisthenics* is physical training, and that these activities comprise all there is to physical training. The institutions themselves seem to have the idea that they are promoting physical training, for upon investigation we find published in their catalogs the statement that they have courses in *physical culture* and naturally we find the students going out from these institutions to promote the same type of education. With such conditions it is little wonder that we find opposition to physical training as a part of the school curriculum.

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[1] Adapted from *American Physical Education Review*, Jan., 1919, pp. 27–32. Read before the Physical Education Dept., N. E. A., Pittsburgh, Pa., July 2, 1918

Now what can we do to overcome this opposition? We must go slowly. We may give entertainments, play and athletic festivals with as many children taking part as is possible. This is the best means of popularizing the work I know of. At these festivals offer games or events suitable for adults, especially those activities that bring back fond memories. Don't lose an opportunity of getting the parents to the school or playground to inspect the work.

I have received many reports from rural school supervisors of physical training concerning the difficult task of winning the support of teachers, parents, and trustees. In every instance where festivals or physical training demonstrations have been given these supervisors and their superintendents have been enthusiastic over the support of the community won for the work as a direct result of these demonstrations. People will listen to talks on various health topics and become enthusiastic supporters of a health program once they are won over to what physical education means. You must show them what they are getting for their money.

The most vital factor in the physical education program is after all the teacher and the supervisor. People of proper training, of faculty for the work, with enthusiastic interest, and with a vision of the possibilities of the work and opportunity for service will do more to develop wholesome recreational and civic activities than any other possible agency. They will popularize this training in the rural communities and wipe out the opposition to it.

And now we must determine the needs of the boys and girls of the rural schools and of the rural communities. These must necessarily be stated in general terms. In the first place healthful and attractive surroundings are essential to the physical, mental, social and moral welfare of the children and to the life of the community. Instruction in personal hygiene and sanitation of the schoolroom and yard is needed, and in order not to blush with embarrassment and to teach effectively, hygienic and sanitary conditions must exist, beginning with the teacher and the buildings. It is useless to preach if preaching is all we do. It is absolutely necessary for the boys and girls to learn these laws of health through observation and practice. Attention must be called to them of course. Morning inspection of pupils' room, buildings and yard must be conducted. These must be followed up by visits to the home to see that instructions are carried out.

School life is a severe nervous strain if the child is expected to always observe proper decorum and to sit still for long periods. We are fighting nature if we compel the child to do this. On the other hand school life will not become a nervous strain if sufficient periods are given for relaxation and physical exercise. Inhibition is one of the needs of the child, but all inhibition and no relaxation makes of the child a nervous wreck. It is not a question of whether the school program affords time for this relaxation through activity, it is a matter of changing our school program if necessary to meet the needs of the child. We are beginning to get away from the obsolete idea of fitting the child to our system of education. In the rural communities, this idea makes way very slowly. In making our education satisfy the needs of the child the first need which appears is his physical need.

Traditional school life has a harmful effect upon the normal posture of the body, and poor posture in turn works great havoc with the health of the child because of the crowding of the vital organs of the body. Muscular weakness, fatigue and the occupations of rural life are common factors of bad posture. The rapid growth of children which saps the power and efficiency of the muscles, the excessive fatigue of supporting muscles which results from hard labor, and long periods of sitting and standing are other common causes of bad posture. The need of postural exercise is apparent. The natural tendency to avoid the fatigue of holding one fixed position is one cause of the restlessness of children.

Rhythm and grace of movement is a need of the child. Observe how one moves, walks, and talks and you will learn a great deal about him. The habitual rhythm of motion is fundamental for full intellectual development. There is a profound and close relationship between our muscle habits and thinking. The rural child is conspicuously wanting in spontaneous graceful movements. We know, now, enough about the developments of children and adolescents to know that the powers of activity are always developed before the powers of control. A great many people live and die undeveloped. They have no control. No phase of our education can train the individual in this respect quite as well as can games, athletics, rhythmic exercises, exercises to response commands, and other branches of physical training. Nowhere will boys and girls receive this type of training if not during the years of school life.

The children of the soil need physical, mental and moral courage. Exercises and games which require nerve, daring, courage and skill should be given. Through the appointment of leaders the individuals acquire confidence in themselves and the ability to lead others. They will acquire the ability to stand defeat as gracefully as victory, recognition of the rights of others, coöperation, self-subordination for the good of the majority, and leadership through team games and athletics. These rural children need, perhaps more than any other one thing, the social aspect of these games and contests. Rural communities must have more wholesome social life. There is a dire need for social centers in the country. Entertainments, festivals, and community "sings" will do more to bring our country brothers out of their shells than any type of activity yet observed, and the vehicle for inaugurating these social gatherings is the supervisor of physical training, who must act as a general community leader.

We must give these children something they can use when through school as well as develop them while in school. We must develop the habit of wholesome exercise for after school life.

Activities that develop health, strength, intelligence and character must be given in order to give the rural children the fullest measure of physical education. Those activities are manifold. They should be utilized during frequent periods in the school program during recess and after school. Directed play is needed for the rural children far more than for their city cousins.

To sum up these needs we may say that the rural child requires a special type of activity. It is useless to preach morality, self-control, recognition of the rights of others, altruism, self-confidence, determination, loyalty, coöperation, courage, skill, and a host of other attributes which the individual should acquire in school, if mere preaching is all that is attempted. It is necessary to give the individual opportunity to learn these valuable lessons for himself, and this he can do through normal directed activity better than he can in any other way. Children need activity intended to promote health, and body as well as moral discipline; activities for the health and happiness of all boys and girls at the same time as the mental and moral training. They need to realize the obligations to the society in which they live, and to have a readiness of spirit and body to meet those obligations in daily life. They need to be made conscious of the fact that it is not for themselves alone that they sing patriotic songs, perform daily drills, play games and undergo health examinations, but for themselves as happier, healthier, more efficient members of the community in which they live.

Space should be provided to serve not only for the drills, plays, games, competitions and the like but also for entertainments and community gatherings.

In order to inaugurate a program of this character it is necessary that each community should have a general community leader. Whatever the future may develop in bringing this need to a practical realization in terms of specific organization, for the present, at least, this work must be done by the local leader of physical education. Now the usual instruction afforded by the majority of courses in physical education fails properly to equip its product with the necessary training. The physical director in a rural community, to be able properly to work out this program, must have a very definite and concrete notion of personal and school hygiene, health and sanitary inspections, inspection for signs of abnormality, and injury or illness, for conditions which call for immediate attention on the part of the teacher, and for signs of disordered health for which children should be kept at home; for conditions productive of bodily deformity, posture, and the like; of the detection of defective sight and hearing; of the organization and duties of health officers and pupil sanitary inspectors; she must have a very definite and concrete notion of physical training, including calisthenics, athletics, games, dancing, swimming, etc., and all those terms imply, and the practical conduct and organization of these various phases of physical training into a rational health program; she must have a very definite and concrete notion of the nature and function of play, of child nature, of festivals and entertainments for old and young, of the social center or community center; and she must have a vision of the service and duties of a general community leader as well as a technical knowledge of her subject.

I wish I had time to elaborate on the training of a so-called general community leader. At Cornell University we have made a special study of the needs of the rural boys and girls and of the rural communities. A Division of Physical Education in the Rural Education Department of the Summer Session of the College of Agriculture has been organized for the purpose of training teachers of physical education as general community leaders for the rural districts. Besides the general training courses for physical directorships, special emphasis is made on personal hygiene and school hygiene and school inspection, physical diagnosis, first aid and home nursing, with opportunities for hospital practice for the training in the duties of the rural school nurse; games, athletics and folk dancing with special reference to organized, directed rural recreation; psychology and child study, rural leadership and administration and rural sociology; and the practical organization and conduct of a department of entertainments, demonstrations, festivals and pageants. We feel that teachers with faculty for the work, with enthusiastic interest and such training will solve the health problem in the rural districts of New York State.

The oft-repeated assertion—that the rural communities are the basic social organization upon which rests the stability of the nation—still holds true. A proper conception, therefore, of rural physical education, is a fundamental educational necessity if a definite program of development is needed. An adequately trained personnel to put this program in operation is the first step in this direction. In some of the states, this idea is already taking definite form in legislation and in educational organizations. A nation-wide movement to this end is indicated for the near future. This body can do no more constructive service for the general advancement of physical education in America than by a sane and enthusiastic support of that important phase of physical education so urgently needed in rural communities.

WHAT THE PEOPLE LIKE[1]

523 Communities in Pennsylvania

WARREN H. WILSON

Baseball	29 per cent.	Skating	3 per cent.
Social and picnics	18 per cent.	Dancing	3 per cent.
Pool and Billiards	13 per cent.	Cards	3 per cent.
Moving picture shows	11 per cent.	Basketball	3 per cent.
		Football	3 per cent.

[1] Adapted from "Rural Survey in Penna.," p. 17. Department of the Church and Country Life, Pres. Board of Home Missions.

Gymnasium athletics	5 per cent.	Tennis	3 per cent.
Concerts and lectures	3 per cent.	Bowling	2 per cent.
		Golf	1 per cent.

THE FARM PLAYGROUND[1]

W. H. JENKINS

THE following words were spoken by a very successful farmer, who brought up a fine family of boys on the farm:

> I brought up seven boys on the farm. Every one wanted to stay on the farm until they grew to manhood. They are successful business men with good habits of life. Some are farmers, and some in other occupations for which their gifts best fitted them. The boys stayed at home and worked with me, because there were more attractions and enjoyments for them there than in any other place. We all worked together. We paid for one farm and then bought another and paid for it, and when one of the boys went into business for himself, his training, habits of life, and a little capital we had for him, assured his success. One of the main reasons why my boys loved the farm life and home so well that they never wanted any of the dissipations that are demoralizing, and which the young people on the farm engage in because there is nothing that satisfies their natural love for play and recreation, was that I spent $30 to build a playground where they could play baseball, tennis or croquet, and I played with them. I have stopped work right in haying time to play with the boys and then we all worked better for the change.

The above is the testimony of a man who was successful both in making the farm pay, and in bringing out the best qualities of manhood in boys, so that they made men of such intelligence and vitality and character that they were prepared to overcome difficulties and win the battle in the struggle of life.

DRAMA FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES[2]

ALFRED G. ARVOLD

THE United States Department of Agriculture recently sent out hundreds of letters to farmers' wives asking them what would make life on the farm more attractive. Hundreds of the replies, which were received from practically every section, told the story of social starvation. They wanted some place to go. They wanted to be entertained. Moral degeneracy in the country, like the city, is usually due to lack of proper social recreation. When people have something healthful with which to occupy their minds they rarely think of wrongdoing.

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[1] Adapted from the *Rural New Yorker*, N. Y., June 29, 1912.

[2] Adapted from *American Review of Reviews*, 54: 309–311, 1916.

The impulse of building up a community spirit in a rural neighborhood may come from without, but the real work of socialization must come from within. The country people themselves must work out their own civilization.

With a knowledge of these basic facts in the mind the idea of the Little Country Theater was conceived. The theater became a reality when a dingy old chapel on the second floor of the administration building at the North Dakota Agricultural College, located at Fargo, was remodeled into what is now known as the Little Country Theater. It is simply a large playhouse placed under a reducing-glass, and is just the size of the average country town hall. The decorations are plain and simple, the color scheme being a green and gold.

Simplicity is the keynote of the theater, for it was not meant for the institution alone, but for every rural community in North Dakota and the rest of America as well. It is an example of what can be done with hundreds of village halls, unused portions of school-houses, and garrets and basements of country homes and country churches.

The object of the Little Country Theater movement is to produce such plays and community programs as can be easily staged in just such places, or, in fact, in any place where people assemble for social betterment. Its principal function is to stimulate an interest for good, clean drama and original entertainment among the people living in the open country and villages, in order to help them find themselves and become better satisfied with the community in which they live. In other words, its real purpose is to use the drama, and all that goes with the drama, as a sociological force in getting people together and acquainted with each other, so that they may find out the hidden life forces of nature itself. Instead of making the drama a luxury for the classes, its aim is to make it an instrument for the enlightenment and enjoyment of the masses.

The work of the Little Country Theater has more than justified its existence. It has produced scores of plays and community programs. The people who have participated in them seem to have caught the spirit. One group of young people from various sections of the State represented five different nationalities—Scotch, Irish, English, Norwegian and Swedish—successfully staging "The Fatal Message," a one-act comedy by John Kendrick Bangs. In order to depict Russian life, one of the dramatic clubs in the institution gave "A Russian Honeymoon." Another cast of characters from the country presented "Cherry Tree Farm," an English comedy, in a most acceptable manner. "Leonarda," a play by Björnsterne Björnson, was presented by the Edwin Booth Dramatic Club and was undoubtedly one of the best plays ever staged in the Little Country Theater. An orchestra played Norwegian music between the acts.

An illustration to demonstrate that a home-talent play is a dynamic force in helping people to find themselves is afforded in the presentation of "The Country Life Minstrels" by the Agricultural Club, an organization of young men coming entirely from country districts. The story reads like a romance. The club decided to give a minstrel show. At the first rehearsal, nobody exhibited any talent except one young man. He could clog. At the second rehearsal a tenor and a mandolin player were discovered; at the third, several good voices were found; whereupon a quartet and a twelve-piece band were organized. When the play was presented, twenty-eight young men furnished an excellent entertainment. During the last three years nearly twenty young ladies, the majority from country districts, have presented short plays. Each of them has also selected the production, but they have promoted the play and trained the cast of characters as well. When Percy MacKaye, the well-known dramatist, visited the Little Country Theater, four young men presented "Sam Average." "The Traveling Man," a miracle play, was presented in honor of Lady Gregory, of Ireland, on her last tour of America. Many other standard plays have also been presented by these rural amateurs as well as a number of original productions.

Several original plays have been presented to large crowds. Three of these, "For the Cause," "A New Liberator" and "Bridging the Chasm," made an unusually fine impression upon the audiences. They were written under the direction of Abbie Simmons, writer of plays and a splendid student of the drama.

Perhaps the most interesting incidents which have occurred in connection with the work of the Little Country Theater were the presentation of "A Farm Home Scene in Iceland Thirty Years Ago," "The Prairie Wolf," "Back to the Farm" and "A Bee in a Drone's Hive." All of these productions have come out of the country people themselves. Standing room was at a premium. The Little Country Theater could not hold the crowds, 80 per cent. of the people being farmers who were eager to see the drama of their creation.

"A Farm Home Scene in Iceland Thirty Years Ago" was staged by twenty young men and women of Icelandic descent whose homes are in the country districts of North Dakota. The tableau was very effective. The scene represented an interior sitting-room of an Icelandic home. The walls were whitewashed; in the rear of the room was a fireplace; the old grandfather was seated in an arm-chair near the fireplace reading a story in the Icelandic language. About the room were several young ladies in native costumes, busily engaged in spinning yarn and knitting, a favorite pastime of an Icelandic home. On a chair at the right was a young man with a violin playing selections from an Icelandic composer. Through the small window rays of light were thrown, representing the midnight sun and the northern lights. Just before the curtain fell, twenty young people, all Icelanders, joined in singing their national song, which has the same tune as "America." The effect of the tableau was far-reaching. The two hundred people who saw it will never forget it.

"The Prairie Wolf," a play written by a young man named John Lange, was staged in the Little Country Theater before an audience representing more than thirty rural communities in the State. The play was not only written by a young farmer, but it was staged and rehearsed by country people. It was a tremendous success. Dozens of communities in the State have already asked for permission to present it. The action throughout the play was superb.

"Back to the Farm," written by a student of the Minnesota Agricultural College, was presented on three successive nights during the Tri-State Grain-Growers' Convention, which is held every year in the city of Fargo. Seven hundred and fifty persons, 90 per cent. of them country people, witnessed this production. Hundreds were turned away from the theater. The cast of characters in the play was made up entirely of young people from the country.

Last fall, Cecil Baker, a young farmer from Edmunds, N. D., who has caught the social vision of the soil, came to my office with a manuscript of a play which he had written entitled "A Bee in a Drone's Hive, or a A Farmer in the City." Mr. Baker wanted his friends to present it, and they did. Two hundred and fifty people saw the production. Some said it was the greatest argument in favor of country life that had ever been presented. Others were astounded at the naturalness of the make-up and the costuming of the characters. Everybody was more than satisfied.

The influence of the Little Country Theater in the State as well as the Nation has been far-reaching. Scarcely a day passes but somebody writes asking for data in regard to it, or for copies of plays, and matter for presentation on public programs. These letters tell an intensely interesting story of the social condition of the community. During the past few years in North Dakota, hundreds of people young and old have participated in home-talent productions and community programs. Thousands of pieces of play-matter and pamphlets have been loaned to individuals, literary societies, farmers' clubs, civic clubs, and other organizations. While the Little Country Theater is located in North Dakota, it nevertheless stands ready to assist other communities in every way possible to develop community life.

THE MIRACLE PLAY AT POMFRET, CONNECTICUT[1]

ELLA M. BOULT

Two months earlier our Neighborhood Association had been organized, and had already proved itself responsible to every call upon it. We had not believed that its varying elements would make common cause so readily. It had developed a surprising unity of interests, and a sympathetic and hearty coöperation in developing those interests. And now Christmas was approaching, supreme season of festival and celebration. What should we do to commemorate it—we, whose very foundation stone was brotherhood, community of interests, fellowship, goodwill?

Back of us were three church societies: the Congregational, sentinel and saint of every New England village; the Episcopal, always proudly assured in its sense of power; and the far-reaching, never flagging Roman Catholic. All three are generous in their response to the material demands of Christmas, as they are devout in spiritual ministrations at this and all seasons of the year. From all three, and from without the church, we draw our membership. Not only are we of many creeds but of many vocations, and especially of many nations. Our Irish and Swedish membership equals our native Puritan elements; we have a number of English and Scotch members, and a few Swiss, Italian, Portuguese, Canadians and Negroes.

As to vocation we are largely working people, and are of all trades—domestic workers, day-laborers, carpenters and builders, preachers, teachers, painters, plumbers, merchants, farmers. It is true that in our community we have a large number of the leisure class, so called. Who shall say that they are not the busiest of all classes? Certainly from them we may draw a sympathetic and helpful portion of our membership.

Above all it (the festival) must be expressive of the great event that it commemorates. Throughout the ages Christmas has never weakened in its tremendous significance. Bells ring, candles glow, greetings and gifts and good cheer abound; but always, below these surface manifestations, there is the Manger at Bethlehem, the transfigured Mother, the pondering Joseph, the dumb brutes, the night, the stars, the shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night, the glory of the Lord, the heavenly hosts, the miracle of miracles. Our impulse was toward the wonderful reality. We did not approach the undertaking without trepidation. With material so heterogeneous could we maintain the solemnity of our subject, sacred in itself and wrapt round with centuries of mystical beauty?

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[1] Adapted from *Country Life in America*, 25: 49–56, December, 1913.

Our shepherds were boys from the farms; our angelic hosts were made up of girls in their teens; our wise men were, one a Frenchman, one a Moor, and one a native of New England stock; by trade they were a plumber, a day laborer and the village storekeeper and postmaster; the retinues of the Magi were school boys as full of life and spirit and mischief as the average boy; Joseph was an Italian laborer, Mary a young Irish girl. The only representative of the brute world was Laddie, our beautiful collie, typical of the shepherd's calling. Laddie had had no more dramatic training than the others, but his instinct proved like theirs, perfect. When, a few months later, he died, he was mourned far and wide as the "dog that came with the shepherds to see the Babe in the manger."

The event proved that faith in our people, however great, was still less than their due. Nothing more beautiful came of our miracle play than the devout spirit of our young actors. It seemed to our Italian workman an astounding thing that he should take the rôle of San Giuseppe but no art could have taught him the profound gravity that he assumed. It came from within, from the solemn realization of the verities. There is sometimes in human nature a certain simplicity that responds like the heart of a child to the elemental without. This quality nurtured beyond any doubt by country life, has shown itself more and more to be a characteristic of our people.

When the curtain fell upon the last scene of our little drama there was silence—a silence of deep emotion. The lights came on with an incongruous glare, thrusting us with a rude jolt forward into the twentieth century. They disclosed an audience unable to speak. The "Silent Night" melody that still filled the air resolved itself again into words in an effort to make articulate the spell that kept us dumb. Haydn, even in his greatest masterpieces, never surpassed this theme in its elemental, pastoral quality, so touchingly eloquent of the open country, the starlight, the rudeness and homeliness of the stable, the peace, the calm, the vastness of the event.

WHAT THE PAGEANT CAN DO FOR THE TOWN[1]

GEORGE P. BAKER

HOLIDAYS, which should be of interest to all, and not a mere excuse for idleness that leads to drinking or other vice, are in far too many cases ill used. The growth of competitive outdoor sports in fitting season is a move in the right direction, for they employ many and entertain more; they are democratic and healthful. Clearly the desideratum for our holidays is something which interests and occupies, as participants or audience, as many people as possible, which does not emphasize social or money distinctions, and which produces something more than momentary pleasure. This is just what the modern pageant, as to some extent already developed in the United States and widely successful in England, provides.

What is a pageant then? "Something between a play and a procession." It is not merely processioning by people in fancy costumes, nor tableaux on fixed or movable stages, nor dancing, nor instrumental or vocal music, nor dramatic scenes in prose or verse. It may be all of these, or some of these, combined. It is a composite form that stands between a procession like that of the trades or of the Antiques and Horribles and a regular play. As to place or scene it is not limited, but may be given indoors or outdoors, though outdoor performances are usually more picturesque, make it possible to use more performers and provide comfortably for a larger audience. Its aims in setting are picturesqueness and space sufficient for free movement by the many people taking part.

Nor is the pageant limited as to subject. It may revivify the history of state, city, town, village, college, school or individual. It may be an allegory conveying some stimulating idea or moral lesson, or a pageant of education, of beauty or of poetry. It may re-create the past, explain the present, suggest the future. In a word the pageant is what our enthusiasm, imagination and intelligent coöperation can make it; it is, and should be, the plaything and the playtime of the masses. A small pageant, to be sure, may employ only two hundred or three hundred people, though a large pageant requires the coöperation of several thousand. But even a small pageant, especially if given outdoors, may each time be played to from three thousand to five thousand people.

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[1] Adapted from *Ladies' Home Journal*, April, 1914, p. 44.

Some of the most successful pageants here and abroad have been given in the smaller places. Even fifty people may give a creditable pageant. Nor is it true that only places rich in history should attempt pageantry. Different conditions demand different pageants; that is all. There is the Pageant of the River, for the river town which is lacking in beauty or scanty in history; there is the Pageant of the Woods for the lumbering town; there is the Pageant of Grain for the farming community, the Pageant of Steel for the manufacturing town, and the Pageant of the Mountains for the village among the hills. Given imagination and constructive skill on the part of the maker of the text, with hearty coöperation by all concerned in the work, and any town not far distant from railroads or with roads not too bad for automobiles may have a pageant without fear of going into debt.

It is not true, then, that only rich and large communities, or those containing a few citizens able to be large guarantors, may attempt a pageant. The great desideratum is time—not in which to prepare the actors, but in which to make ready a finished text, to provide appropriate costumes and to foresee all the details which provide for the comfort and artistic satisfaction of the public. If possible some eight to twelve months before a pageant begins, plans for it should be roughed out and committees organized.

The text, which has been gone over again and again for the largest dramatic effectiveness in the smallest space, the greatest clearness of meaning as a whole and the largest effect of beauty, should be ready in proof at least a month before rehearsals begin. Thus the parts may be learned without too great a strain, and changes which are first seen to be necessary in the rehearsals may be made in time to allow an early final printing of the text.

Costumes should be made slowly and systematically, either by the persons taking part or by seamstresses directed by some Mistress of the Robes. Time in this provides inexpensively costumes which, hurriedly prepared or rented in quantities, would be both less artistic and very expensive. A book called "Festivals and Plays," by P. Chubb, contains many valuable suggestions as to economies in such preparations.

Time means, too, a chance to work up wide enthusiasm among the townspeople and to spread far and wide a knowledge of the coming pageant. In the first days of many a pageant townspeople have said that local history, costumes of the past, old firearms and domestic utensils were lacking. In the last days of preparation, however, costumes, souvenirs, relics have come flowing in from all sides, resurrected from garrets and cellars. In one instance a town that had been strangely lethargic, when urged by an enterprising citizen to found a historical museum, took hold of the plan with vigor after its pageant, placing in the museum many of the costumes, implements and firearms which the pageant had brought together.

On one other account people of small communities are sometimes kept away from pageantry. "We are not an artistic community," they say. "They are four or five among us who have acted a little as amateurs, and still more who sing well, but there is no widespread, marked artistic ability. Who is to prepare our text and rehearse the pageant? Who are to act, sing and dance in it?" At first any pageant master must be prepared to meet in the native American man an ill-concealed feeling that art—music, acting, painting, even singing, and, above all, dancing—is for women, not for men. It was certainly evident at first in Peterboro, New Hampshire; but as the pageant shaped itself before those who came somewhat timidly to watch rehearsals, those who at the outset lacked the interest or the courage to take part came in one by one. In the beginning it was hard to find men enough for the necessary parts. But in the final rehearsals there were enough, and among the most enthusiastic participants were men who had at first stood aloof. No community that has coöperated—men, women and children of all ages—in producing a local pageant will ever again look down on art as effeminate.

They will foster the artistic power any one of them may possess and will welcome art of all kinds, grateful for the uplifting pleasure and the beauty it brings into their lives. Again and again American pageants, large and small, have proved this true.

And the artistry revealed in those who never suspected that they even possessed it! I remember one quiet, self-contained farmer of nearly seventy who, though willingness itself to help in every way, bewailed his inexperience and probable lack of all ability. Even in the first rehearsal of a scene arranged to illustrate MacDowell's ''Deserted Farm'' he caught exactly the required spirit of delicate, wistful pathos. He ''lived his part,'' though it had to be expressed in the art most difficult for the inexpressive New Englander, the art of pantomime. A hint, a suggestion, he took instantly and developed with keen intelligence. At the end of the first rehearsal, when he came for some directions, I said: ''How did you know so quickly exactly what that man should do?''

''Ah,'' he said sadly, ''years ago it was no uncommon thing for me to be saying 'Good-by' to old friends that were going westward to the Middle States or California, and so I just remembered and let go.''

Day by day, filled with growing enthusiasm, he came to me with illuminating suggestions of business which characterized his part. My task was merely helping him to express largely enough for an audience of a thousand people what he felt perfectly and even at the outset expressed adequately for those within short range. And his is the story of many men, women and children in all these pageants.

He is a foolish pageant master, indeed, who does not encourage his actors to suggest business and even lines for the scenes in which they take part. What will come to them, absorbed as they are in their work, is often far more vivid and right than the lines of the author, no matter how carefully selected. One of the most effective details in a Revolutionary scene was entirely rephrased and infinitely bettered by an old man of eighty-seven playing a part. He had never acted before. At first he looked on the whole experiment a little doubtfully; but, once stirred by what had meant so much to his forebears, he quickened in imagination. Enthusiastically living the scene over and over both at rehearsal and away from it, lo! one day he thought of lines far more characterizing than those he had originally been given. Moreover the pageant that does not reveal unexpected powers in more than one youth, and perhaps determine a later career, is unusual. A pageant is to the artistic youth of the community a great opportunity for self-revelation.

The most essential matters in preparing for a pageant are text and trainer. To handle a mixed crowd of several hundred men, women and children so as to discover and reveal to them any artistic power they may possess, so as to keep them contented and even happy when working hard, and so as to get ultimate order out of original chaos, may require the trained hand. It is probably safer, therefore, to call on somebody experienced in this work, and to pay him or her well. If, however, there is any man or woman in the community who feels competent to provide the text don't put that person aside until an outline of what he or she wishes to do has been considered by the committee, or, better still, passed on by some person experienced in pageantry. If several people prepare the text, rather than have it ineffective let the pageant master decide whether the scenes may stand as written or should be simply the basis of a reworking by him or some other skilled hand.

Indeed writing pageants is not so easy as many seem to think. Given outdoors or in large halls the pageant cannot depend to the extent the play can on the spoken word. Pantomime of a large, free sort, choral effects and processioning must in many instances replace the spoken word.

A pageant should as far as possible have some unity of idea, to bind part with part and to give it meaning as a whole. Audiences do not like evenings of one-act plays. Nor, in a pageant, do they like a dozen one-act episodes of singing, dancing or acting. Let the early parts of the pageant create interest for later parts, arouse query. Carry some characters over from episode to episode or division to division; contrast similar conditions in different periods. In brief, bind the parts together all you can. But it is meaning as a whole that a pageant most needs, for one of the great dangers of American pageantry to-day is commercialism. Commercialism means that instead of writing a pageant for each place growing out of its peculiar history, interests and traditions, some one stands ready with a scheme of pageantry which, if slight adaptations are made in the scenes, may be used almost anywhere. With this plan all that is most desirable instantly disappears, for in pageantry of the right sort a community not altogether understanding itself seeks to know itself better, and tries in self-expressive, artistic action to review its past, know the meaning of its present and appreciate rightly the latent beauty of its life.

An auditor leaving the pageant field or hall should feel that he understands as never before the special significance of the past and present life of that town. The common share of all workers in the inspiration of dreams, that is what the hearer should have brought away. Individuality, a special meaning that grows out of right interpretation of the life of a particular community—that, then, is the great desideratum of the best type of pageant.

Is not, then, the pageant worth while? It spreads widely the name and reputation of a town. It brings trade to it. It rouses and sustains civic pride. It reveals and develops artistry. It gives the fine arts their right position in the life of the people. Above all, it is to the people who share in it a pleasure in the doing, and a proud and delightful memory. When our young people, indeed the people of the country at large, have by popular vote chosen the drama as our chief interest in the fine arts, when the great essential for our proper growth in drama is to give our people right standards, can there be any question that it is wise to foster pageantry in this country?

RURAL ART[1]

FRANK A. WAUGH

THE term is one which is coming into use in certain circles. Some of the universities now offer courses in rural art. The present article can hardly do more than survey the field and indicate the scope of the subject.

Art is, of course, universal, and its principles are the same in the country as in the city. All we can mean therefore by rural art is the application of art principles to rural problems. When we reach this ground, no one can doubt that art is able to render a service to the country as much as to the city. Its purpose is to bring order and beauty in place of disorder and ugliness. Beauty seems to be more natural to the country than to the city, and more indispensable. Perhaps it would be wise therefore to make a stronger effort to preserve and enhance the beauty of the country districts.

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[1] Adapted from *Business America*, Feb., 1914, pp. 164–167.

But the country needs also to be orderly. An orderly arrangement of roads, farms, fields, public grounds, buildings and of the whole landscape will have considerable practical value. Indeed, order, heaven's first law and the foundation of art, has also great practical value. The ministrations of art may be justified, therefore, on wholly practical grounds. It is wise to present this argument in most cases, though it would be wrong to make the final test of the service which art would render to the country.

It will be worth while to point out in beginning that rural art in America is entirely different from "peasant art" in the old country. The artists of the Old World recognize and value very highly what they know as *bauer-kunst*. Perhaps nothings would differentiate more clearly the spirit of American country life from the spirit of Bavarian peasant life than this very difference between American rural art and *bauer-kunst*.

It seems to me that rural art in America ought to deal first with rural architecture. Farmhouses ought to be essentially and typically rural. In the past twenty-five years we have seen many horrible examples of town houses built in the country. The architects have been designing city houses almost exclusively and the only new ideas in circulation have been developed to meet urban conditions. In most instances they are wholly unadapted to rural conditions and the results are often genuinely grotesque.

It should be remembered distinctly in this connection that some of the best American domestic architecture has been developed in the country. The old-fashioned New England farmhouse and the good old Southern ante-bellum plantation house were fine types. The modern bungalow in its pristine purity is essentially a country house and suited to certain types of rural scenery. Unfortunately it is being badly misused by unskillful designers and badly misplaced on city streets amidst incongruous surroundings so that one has to be very careful of his admiration for bungalows.

It ought to be plain, however, that what we want in the country, and especially on the farms, is good country houses, native to their surroundings and suited in all respects to the life which goes on in them. The same desire may be freely expressed in reference to all other rural and semi-rural buildings, such as schoolhouses, country churches, country libraries, village stores, etc. For the most part these buildings also are copied from city models and the results are depressing. There have been built in all parts of the country a number of fine examples in recent times to show what can be done in the way of country banks, schoolhouses, stores, etc., and these models ought to be followed.

The improvement of farmyards is always spoken of in connection with rural art, and frequently as though it were the main issue. Farmyards ought, doubtless, to be embellished and made attractive everywhere, but it seems preposterous to be planting *Hydrangea paniculata grandiflora* in the front yard while the kitchen sink drains into the well. In other words, the problems of mere ornamentation ought to be the last to be taken up, rather than the first. In this work simple, clean arrangement, tidiness and good order, are worth a great deal more than flower beds and shrubbery. The special value of good shade trees, however, should not be overlooked.

The proper application of art to the planning of the farm would reach far beyond the front yard. Every farm needs to be planned as a whole. Different fields and buildings should be arranged in a logical system, in proper relation to one another. This is essentially an art problem, and unless rural art can help in its solution, it has failed at an important point.

Landscape gardening, which deals with all these subjects, has in recent years developed on a large scale a special branch of study known as civic art. Like every other line of human endeavor this has been carried farthest in urban civilization,—in its application to cities; but it has its equally important applications in the country. Rural civic art simply means the application of art principles to all the public affairs in the country. The most important of these are (a) roads and streets, including bridges, street railways and street trees; (b) all public grounds such as parks, picnic grounds, commons, lakes, water fronts, school grounds, cemeteries; (c) all public and semi-public buildings such as schoolhouses, libraries, churches; (d) public recreation facilities, especially playgrounds; (e) all public service utilities, such as telephone lines, electric light lines, railway stations and station grounds. All these items of the material equipment of the country should be improved in beauty and in usefulness. Such civic improvement is greatly to be desired in the country as well as in the city and constitutes one of the large fields of rural art.

As art deals essentially with what is beautiful, rural art strives to conserve and increase the stock of rural beauty on every hand. It is easy to see that there is a great deal of beauty in the country and to determine what some of the main features are. For example, the country roads are extremely beautiful. They are in a good and important sense the best kind of public parks. Everybody enjoys them whether a-foot or driving, or even touring in an automobile (though this last is the poorest way of all). Much can be done to preserve and even develop the beauty of the country roads. It hardly needs to be added that very little has thus far been done. Any local improvement organization could hardly attempt a better line of work or one in which success is more likely than in this line of preserving the beauties of the country lanes. These country roads are beautiful for their trees and for the wild shrubbery and ferns and flowers which border them. Such native growth, within reason, ought to be preserved; and it would be an excellent plan to use favorable strips of country road as special preserves for wild plants. There are many parts of the country, especially where agriculture is highly successful, where the wild plants are in imminent danger of extinction. Hundreds of the native species are already almost eradicated. No better public place could be found for making a collection of these for general instruction and enjoyment than along suitable strips of country road.

Many persons are also giving serious thought to the preservation of native birds, fish and small animals. To some extent these objects can be accomplished, especially the protection of the birds, in connection with these roadside plant preserves.

One of the crying evils of modern country life is the rapid removal from general use of all streams, stream banks, lakes, lake shores, forests and hills. Within the memory of all elderly people such sources of recreation were open freely to the world. Every boy could hunt, swim and fish where he liked; and all people, old and young, held their picnics on the river banks or went boating on the lakes as they pleased. All this property is now being rapidly taken up by private owners and common people stringently excluded. The only way to preserve any of these ancient and highly valuable rights to future generations is to have them taken very soon under public control. All these ponds, lakes, streams, hills, forests, or at least the best of them, ought to be free for the public use forever; and it is the most immediate and important work of rural civic art to secure these reservations. Of course after the public has secured title to such properties, their various beauties and utilities remain to be developed. Such development will be the natural field before long of rural art.

Aside from these park reservations to which the public should hold a legal title there is a much larger sum total of beautiful rural scenery which the public does not need to own, but which everybody can enjoy. This scenery does not need to be neglected simply because it is owned by private individuals and exploited as farms or forests. Every wise community will appreciate its resources of beautiful landscape and will make the most of them.

The final test of rural art must be a love of rural beauty. If people will not see the beauty of the country, especially those people who live in it, it is useless to talk to them of art in any other form. There are many ways in which this appreciation of the country beautiful may be developed. It may even be taught in the schools. It is quite as easy to convince one of the beauty of native trees or of the neighborly hills or the local lake as of the Sistine Madonna, or the Hermes of Praxiteles, which most of us never saw. Genuine, thoroughly organized campaigns for the appreciation of local scenery would do more for many communities than organized efforts to produce more corn.

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CHAPTER X

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

THE FUTURE OF GOOD ROADS IN STATE AND NATION [1]

EDWIN A. STEVENS

IN no country has the growth of the highway problem in importance and in difficulties been greater than in the United States, and in none does it seem likely to be greater in the future. Our motor-vehicle registry is already the largest in the world.

The effect of these industrial phenomena on our roads is worthy of most careful thought. The problem in its most simple and general statement is one of transportation. The cost of transporting one ton a mile at any given speed will divide itself naturally into two parts: first, the cost of providing and running the vehicle, including up-keep, fuel, and lubricants; second, the cost of providing and maintaining the roadway in such shape that the sum of both parts of the cost of transportation shall be a minimum. The latter is the special province of highway administration. To discharge this duty, provision must be made for the future traffic.

To do this intelligently we must form some idea of the traffic of to-day and of its past growth. The horse-drawn traffic is practically unknown; it will probably not show any material increase, though, in the minds of many authorities, it is not likely to decrease. It is also less trying on our road surfaces. The following statistics as to automobile registration in ten States that have undertaken the systematic improvement of their roads affords us a means of foretelling what is to be expected within the next few years for the nation:

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[1] Adapted from *Scribner's* magazine 59: 181–190, Feb., 1916, copyright, 1916, by Charles Scribner's Sons.

MOTOR-VEHICLE REGISTRATION AND POPULATION

State	1911	1914	Estimated, 1915	Population, 1915	Inhabitants per motor vehicle, 1915	* Motor vehicles 1918	Motor vehicles 1919	Population, 1919	Inhabitants per motor vehicle, 1919
Mass. ...	38,907	77,246	99,000	3,700,000	37.4	193,497	250,800	3,889,607	15.5
R. I.	7,262	13,530	15,600	618,000	39.6	30,595	42,000	648,964	15.5
Conn. ...	16,372	32,790	39,000	1,235,000	31.6	84,902	105,419	1,307,163	12.4
New York	83,969	168,428	222,000	10,300,000	46.4	457,921	600,000	10,833,795	18.
N. J.	55,913	76,910	91,500	2,960,000	32.4	154,870	192,000	3,936,091	16.4
Penn. ...	48,108	125,189	180,000	8,500,000	47.2	393,972	414,485	8,936,091	21.7
Md.	7,273	20,238	33,000	1,350,000	40.9	78,146	104,353	1,395,405	13.3
Virginia .	4,020	13,984	22,000	2,180,000	99.	72,228	94,100	2,255,036	23.9
Ohio	45,788	122,504	184,000	5,100,000	27.7	417,400	511,500	5,335,543	10.4
Illinois ..	42,615	145,992	190,000	6,100,000	32.1	389,135	478,450	6,400,473	13.3
Totals .	350,227	790,811	1,076,100	42,043,000	‡39	2,272,669	2,793,107	44,937,168	‡16 1

* See Editor's note.

‡ Average

(Mr. Stevens' table brought the figures to 1915 only. The motor-vehicle registration for 1918 and 1919 is added from a recent count by the B. F. Goodrich Rubber Co., based on official figures from every State. It excludes dealer and motorcycle registrations. The population by States is taken from the *World Almanac* for 1920. According to the Goodrich count the total motor-vehicle registrations for the United States for 1919 was 7,555,269, or one for every 14.2 inhabitants. This greatly exceeds Mr. Stevens' estimate.—Ed.)

If the average life of a car be three years, it seems possible that by 1920 we shall have on our highways a total of not less than 6,000,000 motor-vehicles, or one for every twenty inhabitants. This is about three times our present registration.

To care for this traffic we have in the United States about 2,125,000 miles of country roads, not counting streets. What mileage has been "improved" it is impossible to say, for the word has no standard meaning. We are probably safe in assuming that for a satisfactory system not less than 1,250,000 miles of road must still be improved. With the ever-growing traffic and with the consequent demand for better construction, the ultimate cost of this system will not fall short of $10,000,000,000, and its construction will probably cover a period of not less than forty years. These figures do not overstate the case. Many roads have been and will be built too narrow, too crooked, with excessive grades and inadequate pavements. These should be widened, straightened, regraded, and repaved. They will also have to be provided with bridges designed for the increasing weight of vehicles. However this may be, it seems safe to say that we have a big job on our hands, and that if we are to plan for its execution we must do so in a big way.

Let us consider the full extent of the problem—what we are now doing to solve it and what is needed to obtain good roads.

Assuming for a moment that in 1920 we shall have 6,000,000 motor-vehicles and 6,000,000 teams using our roads, that the motors will average 200 days at thirty miles and the teams 180 days at fifteen miles, we have totals of 36,000,000,000 motor-vehicle miles and 16,200,000,000 team miles. The difference in cost of operation on an improved as against an unimproved road may be safely put at not less than six cents per mile for both motor and teams. On this basis we would have 52,200,000,000 vehicle miles at six cents, or $3,120,000,000—the total yearly saving.

I need only allude to the other gains due to good roads—the opening up of the country, the development of industries, the improvement of the conditions of agricultural life. These cannot be readily estimated in figures, but the value is certainly not less than the reduction in cost of haulage and probably exceeds it manyfold.

The importance of the interests involved would seem to warrant the expense of scientific and businesslike administration. Such administration we lack; we seem to have formed but a faint idea of our woful state of unpreparedness and of the seriousness of the results. Our present methods of road administration are inadequate.

While most of the States have preserved the common-law doctrine of the king's highway, the treatment accorded to our roads has not matched the dignity of their title. Generally, the roads, except in the case of city streets, are in the hands of some local body or of a turnpike company. The care they have received is such as might have been expected in a community descended from pioneer ancestry. The traditions still survive of the days when each man raised his own food, built his own house, and looked to no policeman to enforce his rights. Any man, in those days, was supposed to be able to build and keep a road, and this belief is by no means dead. It shows itself in the underlying idea of our road administration, the turning over to township committees, selectmen, or by whatever name they may be known, the management of the greater part of our road systems. In most of our States we have placed bridges under the care of somebody other than that in charge of the road.

On this substructure many of the States have built, each in its own way to provide for our increasing highway traffic. The laws passed for this object may be grouped into two general classes, following the lead set by the two States that first took up road improvement as a field for State activity, namely, New Jersey and Massachusetts. The former undertook to aid counties in the building of improved roads, leaving the care of the roads thus built to the county authorities; Massachusetts, on the other hand, set herself to building and maintaining a system of State roads made up of the most important through lines of traffic. Both of these represent correct principles. The State should care for the important through lines. Local bodies should be encouraged to improve roads of secondary importance. Neither of these States, however, undertook to thoroughly provide for the proper care of all of its country roads, nor, as far as I know, has any other State. Nothing less than this will meet the need. Every public road should be insured such intelligent care as to furnish the best service of which it is capable.

My own experience as a road official may be enlightening. A mechanical engineer by training, with scanty knowledge of roadwork and even less experience in public office, I was appointed five years ago head of the New Jersey Road Department. The appointment, I believe, was considered a good one.

I expected to find very simple engineering, an ill-organized repair system, and more or less "graft." I found the engineering by no means simple, that proper reorganization of the repair system would require voluntary coöperation and acceptance of State control by the counties, many of which were jealous of each other and of the influence of the department. I found no legal evidence of "graft" and no reason for suspicion against the force under my control. This force had been formed and had worked under department heads not one of whom had any previous engineering experience; it was personally well fitted for its work, but hardly large enough for its statutory duties and utterly insufficient for the work necessary to insure thoroughness. There was much duplication of work between the State and county forces and ill-located responsibility. While I cannot complain of any lack of good will, the work has been and is being done under conditions that exclude any high standard of attainment and with the knowledge that no one expects results to measure up to any such standard.

I may be slow-witted. I have had to waste much time in planning how to get the work done under legislation both unreasonably restrictive and often inconsistent and in learning to tie the red tape thereby required into the regulation bow-knots.

During my term of office almost every one of our neighboring States has changed the head of its road department. This brings us to a most serious defect of our road administration, namely, that the head, whether a commissioner or a board, is a political appointee, usually unskilled in road-work and frequently without any engineering training. Holding office for a term of years, subjected to great political pressure, and intrusted with wide powers, it would, indeed, be wonderful if these men did not frequently yield to considerations other than the best interests of our roads and err by dabbling in engineering matters.

Instead of appreciation of the seriousness and the needs of the situation, one generally finds in our legislatures a faith in the efficacy of certain pet remedies and a leaning to numerous checks, safeguards, and investigations, the outgrowth of lack of confidence in the road administration, fruitful sources of delay, red tape, and waste, and godsends for the muckraker.

I have said that European experience is of but limited value to us in the solution of our problem. The weight given in Europe to the administration of their roads is, however, instructive. The French Republic has been the classic example of road administration. It compares with our ten States as follows, the French motor-vehicle figures being for the period before the great war:

	Road mileage	Area	Population	Motor-vehicles
France	357,000	207,000	40,000,000	122,000
Ten States	457,000	261,000	42,000,000	1,076,000

In France all national roads and most of the departmental roads are under the care of the celebrated "Ponts et Chausées" corps. This corps is the best and most thoroughly trained body of civil engineers in the world. Their men are especially trained for the work from boyhood, as are cadets and midshipmen. Their life-work is in the corps. Their instruction covers the engineering, the administrative detail, and the law referring to the subject. The standing of the corps personally and professionally is of the highest.

Contrast for a moment our conditions. There is no legal standard of qualifications for an engineer, least of all a highway engineer. The job is seldom permanent. There is but little confidence in the ability and but too often in the integrity of highway officials. This is hardly to be wondered at when we recall that we are trying to care for a fast-growing motor traffic, to-day sixteen times that of the French Republic, under the leadership of political appointees holding office for limited terms and working under laws that make efficiency impossible.

To avoid any misunderstanding as to our highway engineers, let me, in this connection, bear witness to the devotion and ability of those with whom I have been thrown in contact. There are, of course, lamentable exceptions, but as a whole they are morally and technically of higher class than one would expect under the conditions. There is, however, little organization, no recognized standard of qualifications, and practically no interstate coöperation. Road societies there are, but these are organized to "boost" the cause of roads and only incidentally to afford technical training and interchange of data.

The very evident cure for our present evils and the best provision for the future is such legislation as will establish in each State a highway force that will command respect and confidence in its ability. We must then state our problem, and this, too, will generally require legislation. Even in the smallest and in the sparsely settled States the cost and importance of the work will warrant thorough preparatory study. But little of this has been done. We have tackled the job of improving our roads with an insouciance that would be almost laughable if its results were less ominous. Few, if any, States have any accurate idea of their country-road mileage, much less of its proper and economical development, and, I may add, practically none at all of the ultimate cost nor of the duration of the period of improvement. Yet all these can at least be approximately ascertained, and the public which pays the bill is entitled to the information.

For this purpose we should lay out a road system for each State. Such a system will include roads of all classes. If national roads become a fact they will form a separate class. There will also be the main lines of intra-State traffic, then roads of secondary importance furnishing the principal feeder lines for the State highways and connecting towns of secondary importance, and, lastly, the lesser roads corresponding to the capillaries in the system of blood circulation. Each of these classes will call for different features of design and for different types of paving. For our greatest roads it would seem that the best will be none too good, for the smallest our means will demand that we adopt the most economical construction. Without thorough preliminary study and planning we shall, beyond doubt, build roads, some insufficient for their loads and others more costly than their traffic will warrant. I may here point out that the permanent investment in a road is made up of the cost of the right of way and of grading. Drainage works and foundation courses may be or may not be permanent; the same is true of bridges; but surfaces are never permanent. If, however, we secure enough land and grade it properly at the outset, our investment to that extent is secure.

Our legislation should extend to all country roads. Streets present another problem. Just as physically and commercially all roads in a State form part of one system, so the State must provide that they be administered under uniform laws and in coördination. The public has a right to expect and the State should provide that every road be so kept as to give the best service of which it is capable.

There must be a strict, uniform, and scientific system of accounting and audit, including an accurate census of road traffic. The resulting data must be carefully analyzed to enable those in charge not only to make comparisons but also clearly to account for the discharge of the trust imposed on them.

We must, in all cases, have such elasticity in statutory provisions as will cut the red tape down to a minimum.

The importance of the work to be done will justify provisions that will make highway engineering a career that will attract and hold young men of ability and energy. Material of this character can be trained to high efficiency if politics be excluded, if promotion follow on proven fitness and discipline be rigidly enforced.

Road-work calls for analytical study requiring the combination of experience, common sense, and technical training. It involves also, in the higher grades, difficult administrative work, which cannot be readily separated from the engineering and executive ability of no mean order. This always demands and must receive good pay. A high professional standard for such a force gives the members a pride in their organization and a confidence in its ability to do its work, without which it is useless to expect any full measure of success or of public trust. This latter, I repeat again, is essential to any satisfactory solution of our problem. Without it the public will not insist on the exclusion of politics from road-work, and before they will so insist the people must know that their business is being handled by experts and honest men.

The technical work to be performed by such a body should consist, in addition to the preliminary study needed for the laying out of road systems, of design, construction, and maintenance.

''Safety first,'' of which we have heard much of late, needed but little consideration in the road design of the ante-automobile age. Any road was safe enough if it was good enough. Guard-rails on high embankments, avoidance of sharp turns at the foot of steep grades, and a little care at approaches to bridges were enough to make a road reasonably safe at the speed and weights for which they were designed, say ten miles an hour and about three tons. It is no wonder that they have become ''death-traps'' when called on to carry traffic at forty miles with maximum loads of from twelve to fifteen tons. The solution of the guard-rail question is yet open. Any obstruction to the view within a distance of from 350 to 400 feet is highly dangerous. Curves on or at the lower end of steep grades, narrowness, excessive crown, unprotected ditches, badly placed trees or poles, and even the pipes often used to carry water across entrances, have become dangers that are taking a heavy toll of human life.

The most apparent dangers on our highways are the crossings over railroad and trolley tracks at grade. The elimination of these death-traps should never be overlooked. The cost of this work will form no small part of our future highway disbursements. Even when elimination is impossible, much may be done to decrease danger at crossings.

As to pavements, for minor roads this will always depend on the relative costs of locally available materials. Gravel, oystershells, and macadam will probably always be able to provide for a considerable mileage of the lesser roads. Macadam with a blanket coat of tar or asphalt, well maintained, will carry a considerable traffic, but only at a fairly high maintenance cost. For more important roads Portland cement concrete and bituminous concretes seem the most promising solution. Block pavements, brick, wood, asphalt block, and granite on a concrete base will be required for the heaviest traffic and for such grades on bituminous concrete roads as may be found too steep for that material.

Roads must be designed for the speed and weights that will be used on them. Whether there be a statutory speed limit or not, it is not seriously regarded and will in time probably disappear. Any prudent designer to-day will count on not less than forty miles. There is little use in providing a surface suited for such a speed without giving the corresponding widths and curvatures. Without knowledge of weights to be carried, bridge design is but guesswork. Pavements and foundation courses must be suited to the weights to be carried. These should be regulated by legislation uniform in all the States. The paved way for important roads should not be less than eighteen feet on tangents; curves should have radii of not less than 1,000 feet with increased widths of paved surface.

Grades are a matter of both economy and safety; with bituminous surfaces anything in excess of five per cent. becomes too slippery for horses; automobiles also skid dangerously thereon.

Many of the minor appurtenances of our roads deserve and should receive more thorough study than has generally been given them. Road signs, for example, should be legible from whatever side approached. Running beyond a sign before being able to read it destroys, to a great extent, its usefulness and is a source of actual danger. Dust in excessive quantities is not only a nuisance, but has become a serious danger.

The correct placing of shade-trees and the selection of the species used are matters of importance. Trees must not be placed so near the driveway as to be dangerous. The same is true of telegraph-poles, sign-posts, etc.

The military features of our roads have been all but entirely overlooked. A few years ago a request for the views and advice of the War Department met with a polite but entirely unenlightening answer. Strategically, roads must connect points of military importance. Tactically, they must be designed to carry necessary military traffic. In the light of the experience of the great war, this means that very heavy loads, guns of six and eight inch caliber, heavy motor-trucks, high-speed cars, cavalry and infantry must be accommodated. Less than three lines of traffic will hardly meet the requirements. Nothing less than thirty feet of graded width will do. Bridges must also be strengthened. It may well be that screening will be required.

The designer must also carefully weigh the advantages of any proposed feature of design against its cost. He must bear in mind that the total road cost is divided into three parts: interest on the first cost; depreciation and up-keep, including the overhead charges due to administration, use of machinery, and, what is usually called the repair charge, the cost of the actual labor and materials used in repair. What he now has in most cases is the repair charge only and that without traffic data. This charge may be easily kept low by an expensive construction. It may well be that a low-priced road with comparatively high repair charge will be the cheapest solution. Yet, on the other hand, too cheap a construction is sure to prove wasteful. It can easily be imagined that the designer has ample field in which to show his ability.

We have generally built good roads as far as construction work is concerned. We have probably been a little too impatient for results and too easy-going to obtain all the accuracy in following a specification that we find abroad. Our inspection, too, in many cases, may have lacked in intelligence and thoroughness, but on the whole we have not done badly in this respect.

The up-keep of our roads has, on the whole, been disappointing. There are, of course, brilliant exceptions. If we are to have good roads we must provide a system that will make good minute defects as soon as they appear. This cannot be done without constant and competent inspection. The best way to provide this service will vary with roads of different materials and subject to different traffic intensities. Whatever method, however, is adopted, the importance of accurate accounting for all maintenance expenditures will remain undiminished.

Our task is such a huge one that for success we must have teamwork. Our federal scheme of government is a hindrance in securing the interstate coöperation that the situation demands. It is not only in the planning of interstate lines of traffic and in securing uniform laws as to classification of vehicles and regulation of traffic that this need exists. We should have standardization of nomenclature so that, for instance, ''improved road'' will mean the same thing in Indiana and in New Jersey; standard system of road signs, standard methods of accounting, standard units of traffic and wear, and, in general, coöperation and coordination between our forty-eight State-road forces and the federal government.

That this coördination and the leadership needed for any teamwork can be supplied only by the general government is, to my mind, the unanswerable argument for federal aid. The gain by united and concerted effort will be greater than that due to any federal appropriation.

The financial problem involved is by no means the least of the many road questions that we must settle.

While building and after having finished the work, we shall have to keep up the roads already built. This will involve a tremendous outlay. The present total road repair charge in this country is unknown, but we do know that much of it is wasted on unintelligent work.

We must evidently look to our sources of revenue. Benefits are conferred by road improvement on both the land-owner and the user of the road. The former pays through the ordinary tax levy. The latter pays a so-called license fee for his automobile only and nothing for his horses. It seems rational to look to the business on the roads for part of the cost of building and maintaining them.

Enough has been said to outline roughly, indeed, the many and very serious problems suggested by a forecast of our road-work.

The lesson to be drawn therefrom is the need of thorough organization of our road forces and of careful preliminary study. The interests affected are among the most important to the welfare of the nation. The investment will be gigantic in size, but can be made to return a benefit far beyond its cost if we will handle it as a business proposition. If, on the other hand, we rush into work of unparalleled magnitude without adequate preparation, if we continue to intrust its execution to men unskilled in the work, chosen mainly on account of past political services and lacking public confidence, and if we keep changing them as various parties may command popular pluralities, we shall pay the price of our folly.

MITIGATING RURAL ISOLATION[1]

JOHN MORRIS GILLETTE

The statement is often made that the great urban problem is that of congestion of population while the chief drawback to rural life consists in the isolation of families and people. It is held that life in cities is too compact while that in the country is characterized by too great an aloofness. Isolation is not solely a matter of spatial separation; the greater the distance persons are removed from one another the more intense the consequent social aloofness. On the contrary, isolation is in part a state of mind, one of the chief factors of which is a feeling of loneliness, and such a state frequently occurs among persons living amid dense urban populations. Perhaps the greatest hunger for human association and friendship is often to be found in the midst of the throngs of great cities. Neighboring in cities is not always or mostly with those who live next door or in the same block. The urbanite's closest friends may be blocks or miles removed, necessitating the occurrence of social exchanges at infrequent intervals. Similarly the church and other institutions that are attended, the theater, the recreation place and the like, may be far distant, requiring a considerable journey to attend them.

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[1] Adapted from a Reprint from the Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, Vol. VII, No. 2, University, January, 1917.

Nevertheless, although there is danger of exaggerating the isolation obtaining in the country, the social aloofness that exists there is real, considerable, and serious. Grant to individuals living in cities friends and a standing in some circle or set of persons, and unquestionably opportunities for intercourse and amusement, culture and social service are not only much more numerous in cities than in country but in general the distance traveled to reach them is less; and perhaps it should be added that transportation and communication facilities are better.

There are three proximate conditions which account for the rural social isolation existing in the United States; namely, spatial separation of families, fewness of social institutions, and what may be called the rural state of mind. These will be considered for the purpose of evaluating the difficulty of overcoming or mitigating them.

A fairly approximate perception of the degree of separation obtaining among persons and families in each of the nine geographical divisions of the nation may be gained by dividing the rural population by the appropriate division area. This is only approximately correct for rural density since, besides the rural territory, the total division area contains the urban area; and further the rural population includes that of towns and villages, or all segregated populations of less than 2,500 inhabitants each. The latter statement is undoubtedly of greater import than the former, creating the likelihood that the rural population density is somewhat, though not greatly, less than the accompanying figures indicate. The following table sums up the data:

Division	Division Area	Rural Population	Population Per Square Mile	Families Per Square Miles
New England	62,000	1,097,000	16	4
Middle Atlantic	100,000	5,593,000	56	12.7
E. N. Central	246,000	8,633,000	35	8.1
W. N. Central	511,000	7,764,000	15	3.3
South Atlantic	269,000	9,103,000	34	6.8
E. S. Central	179,000	6,836,000	38	7.9
W. S. Central	430,000	6,827,000	16	3.2
Mountain	859,000	1,686,000	2	0.47
Pacific	318,000	1,810,000	6	1.4

(Abstract 13th census, pp. 29 and 60.)

According to this table, four of the divisions have thirty-four or more persons or practically seven or more families per square mile, the Middle Atlantic having fifty-six persons and almost thirteen families per such area. Where there are eight families to the square mile they might be so located in that space that the homes need be only about one-fourth of a mile apart. What really occurs is that the homes are placed along adjacent lines of travel and lie comparatively near each other. In the case of three divisions, containing over three-tenths of the total rural population of the nation, there are from three to four families to the square mile, requiring a separation of homes of perhaps one-half mile or more. The Mountain and Pacific divisions contain about one-twelfth of the rural population and in these divisions the families must be on the average from a mile to over two miles removed from one another.

In the typical rural community are to be found church and school generally, although there are many neighborhoods without churches. Farmers' clubs are developing rapidly but are not yet sufficiently numerous and universal to be considered typical of farm communities. But perhaps Grange, Society of Equity, the Union, or some such organization might well be included. This list which is liberal practically exhausts the list of institutions which rural neighborhoods commonly possess and enjoy. In the town-country communities (villages with the closely associated surrounding agricultural region) no doubt should also be included the lodge. The typical city community supports school, church, saloon (save in prohibition territory), lodge, play houses, dance halls, movies, pool halls, and kindred places. Besides these the shops, stores, factories, and streets bring individuals into frequent contact. Certainly institutional facilities for social interchange in the typical urban neighborhood are far more abundant than in the typical farm community.

Relative to their quality for purposes of social interchange the institutions of the city communities are likely to be superior. The average rural church is an anachronistic, semi-decadent affair. It typically comprises a one-room building where all activities must be accommodated. It practices what aptly has been called "ministerial vivisection," the distribution of a minister's services between two or more churches, with the probable consequence of being ministered to by a man of inferior training or ability. In consequence of these conditions, not to speak of others, its activities are few and listless.

The typical country school is likewise a backward institution. It, too, is a small one-room affair, without facilities for diversified instruction, sustaining an ill-adapted course of study, with too few pupils to create competitive interest in class work or to sustain organized play. It is ungraded, demands a multiplicity of brief classes daily, and is taught by a poorly paid, poorly trained pedagog. In contrast with these the average city church and school appear to be very progressive and efficient institutions, and the other agencies found in urban neighborhoods but not in rural are of equally prepossessing character.

Rural consciousness, or the form the rural social mind takes, is a large factor in the production of rural isolation. What may be phrased ''passive rural-mindedness'' operates as an efficient but indirect cause of such isolation. This form of consciousness consists in being satisfied with aloofness, paucity of social organizations, dearth of contact and community activities, with the consequence that the individuals so conditioned do nothing and want to do nothing toward improvement. Of course those who are so minded are not aware of it any more than do the mass of people take cognizance of the social customs and modes of procedure of the national, class, or local groups.

Not all inhabitants of country districts are possessed by passive rural-mindedness. Some there are who are ''urban minded,'' being discontented with rural life and having a strong desire to dwell in the city. Probably only the powerlessness to secure the financial means to carry out a successful removal stands in their way of joining the urban ranks.

Again there is a state of consciousness which may be called ''active rural-mindedness.'' Those who are actively rural minded dwell in the country because they wish to do so. Nevertheless, they are intelligent regarding the deficiencies in rural community matters and positively desire and strive to remedy them. This body of citizens constitute the hope of the countryside. However it is likely that the passively-minded individuals are in the majority, thus making changes toward a better situation difficult and slow.

That rural social isolation is regarded as undesirable by country people is attested by several sets of events to be mentioned without discussion: the flow of large numbers of persons from country to city; the settlement of retired farmers in neighboring towns and villages; the frequent testimony of intelligent ruralites to the irksomeness and the undesirability of the customary social poverty; and the response to the introduction of social facilities by practically every class of non-urban residents, including the group we have alluded to as the passively rural-minded. That the latter class respond is not inconsistent with calling them passively rural-minded, since they may take advantage of privileges without participating in their establishment.

Perhaps the most severe strain arising out of this situation is suffered by the women of the farm homestead, especially by the mother. Her sphere of practical action is within the confines of the house, she cannot meet the neighbors at the borders of the adjoining fields as city women may talk across lots, nor in the exchange of tools and work does she have the opportunity to converse as do the men of the farm, and her field of coöperative exchange is limited. Neither does she go to the neighboring town for marketing and repair purposes as often as the men. Further, her work is of a routine nature, lacking the variety and the occurrence of new situations that call for inventive talent which the activities of the outdoor workers involve. That farm women age much earlier in life than do the men is no doubt partly due to the greater absence of intellectual incitement.

The problem of rural isolation has attracted much attention and naturally has brought forth a number of proposals for solutions and panaceas. One of the most short-sighted and brutal suggestions is what may be called "familism." It is asserted that the social activities and satisfactions of rural inhabitants inevitably must be limited to the sphere of the family, since that institution represents the scope of normal human association possible to country districts. This proposal flies in the face of accomplished facts and is only a dogmatic generalization from a narrow range of data. It is doubtless true that the majority of rural inhabitants realize the larger portion of their associational life within the family and that many will do so for some time to come. But notwithstanding the fact that the family is a most worthy and indispensable institution and that it is destined to furnish much of the social contact for both rural and urban inhabitants in future, it must be said that it is too small, unresourceful, and monotonous to supply complete associational satisfaction. Moreover, multitudes of country neighborhoods have established and now enjoy larger community organizations. The trend of the rural movement without question is toward the creation and the adaptation of varied recreational and social facilities.

Another proposition is that American farmers shall abandon their present system of widely distributed, separate homesteads and segregate themselves in some kind of central farm village. Various actual and ideal types of such communities present themselves, some of which deserve attention.

The European form of farm village is generally thought of when the proposal in question is considered. European farmers almost universally live in small segregated communities, proceeding from these during the daytime to prosecute their agriculture on the outlying farms. In America, also, are to be found a few types of agricultural village. In various sections of the United States immigrant Mennonites have established themselves in such communities, very largely reproducing here the customary European prototype. The most indigenously American farm village is to be found among the Mormon settlements of the western portion of the United States and Canada. When the Mormons settled Utah they designated an agricultural community somewhat peculiar to themselves. The Mormon settlers and recruits were to settle in centers, all of which were built from a common plant. Each village resident had a considerable plot of land surrounding his house, another plot of a few acres just outside the center, a still larger piece still farther removed, and might have more land still farther distant. The dwellings are characteristically arranged relative to each other to secure family privacy. A further important characteristic is that the church is the center of community interest and lies at the foundation of the Mormon farm village plan.

Besides these existent types of agricultural villages, a strictly coöperative farm village community has been urged. It is proposed that not only dairies and creameries, but also laundries, kitchens, dining halls, and all phases of domestic and distributive economic business should be coöperative.

These plans of and proposals for farm villages possess both interest and value, nevertheless they are confronted by several obstacles and objections. First, the great majority of American farmers have much capital invested in houses, barns, other buildings, orchards, and other home equipment on their separate allotments of land. To make a change to such a completely different system of living as the farm village represents would involve the destruction of much of the capital so invested and the incurring a large removal expense. The economic loss involved in the proposal is so heavy that we cannot expect seriously to see it executed.

Second, to the average farmer it would seem a costly inconvenience to drive daily several miles to carry on his farm work. Where farms are small, as most of them are in Europe and to a less extent in the irrigable sections of the United States, the distances to the outlying land are not great. But the average size of farms in the United States is 138 acres. Were the farm village large enough to be of any great social advantage it should contain probably 100 families. This being so, in a district composed of average sized farms, the more remote farms would be about four or five miles removed from a centrally located village. This would mean a daily drive of eight or ten miles, which is practically prohibitive because of the economic loss involved.

Third, a small village of the usual type possesses questionable advantages, socially, when compared with open country communities. Without the fuller social life, intellectual interests, ideals, and resources of the larger urban aggregations, the petty gossip, jealousies, and bickerings are not conducive to increased satisfaction or a higher existence. The paucity of recreational and amusement facilities, the almost entire absence of those of a wholesome kind, especially for boys from ten to sixteen years of age, engenders idleness and the resorting to vicious gangs and forms of sport which are demoralizing. The average small village in the United States represents one of the most deadening and disheartening forms of community, and, as a problem, challenges the serious attention of the American nation.

The suggestion of a coöperative form of farm village is worthy of consideration. That the scheme is Utopian should not condemn it in advance. Its real test is, can it overcome the difficulties just presented relative to farm villages in general?

In the case of the establishment of new agricultural communities, especially in irrigation districts where farms are small, the coöperative proposal is most deserving of attention. Aside from these relatively infrequent situations, the heavy investment in separate farm plants and the remoteness of the majority of farms from the central villages would appear to make the proposal impracticable.

In view of these considerations we may regard our present system of distributed and separate farm homesteads as permanent, and are forced to conclude that the mitigation of rural isolation must come from other directions. In this connection it is worthy of note that in agricultural Utah there is an observed tendency toward independent farm homes. From the top of the divide between Cache and Salt Lake valleys in Northern Utah it is seen that in the former valley, which was settled very early, there is an occasional homestead in the open country while in the northern portion of the former, a region settled more recently, separate farm homes appear to be the rule.

Considerable may be expected from the improvement and extension of the rural communicating system, including under this caption roads, rural delivery, automobiles, interurban trolleys, telephones, and periodical literature. Each of these agencies is making its contribution toward the establishment of a more effective rural solidarity and also toward bringing country and urban districts into closer touch.

Improved and extended roads are essential to the development of the economic interests of agriculture and are the indispensable foundation for all larger community organizations and activities. The larger organizations which the improved rural church, the consolidated school, farmers' clubs, and recreational and community centers are demanding can materialize only as the highways are built to permit rapid and comfortable transit.

The automobile and rural delivery are serviceable in creating larger contacts and in stimulating the building of a better highway system. Where population density warrants the establishment of rural free delivery of mail, rural routes are assigned by the national government on condition that the routes to be used in carrying the mail should be put and kept in passable shape. Organizations and individuals interested in the extended use of the automobile are promoting both local and inter-community highway improvement. Since so many farmers have become owners of cars, they have the more heartily joined the movement for the establishment of good roads.

The automobile quickens rural life by bringing families and communities into closer and more frequent contact. Distances which once took hours or days to compass by horse or horse-drawn vehicle, now are covered in a few minutes or hours. Could every farmer possess an automobile, the problem of establishing larger and better rural institutions in considerable measure would be solved because transit would be speedy and easy and because the care of teams involved in travel by horse-drawn vehicles would be obviated.

Rural free mail delivery and the circulating library are effective agencies for reducing isolation. The former places within reach of out-of-town residents the possibility of daily contact with the world of events by means of the daily press; makes possible more frequent correspondence with friends and relatives; and helps cultivate a habitual perusal of periodical and library literature. In its turn the circulating library brings to neighborhoods which command its services the enlivening store of fiction, the inspiration of good literature, and the practical knowledge of the whole range of natural and social science.

A definite local communitization of rural districts constitutes a further method of mitigating rural isolation. Communitization takes place to the degree to which the inhabitants of a particular locality think and act together, the alternative, individualization, being most often observed in the country, in that residents of such locality think and act as if they were only individuals. It is highly desirable that people generally, and rural inhabitants especially, should cultivate a neighborhood outlook, appreciate the good results which flow from increased coöperation, and set about establishing the agencies for realizing the community spirit.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AGRICULTURAL PRESS[1]

J. CLYDE MARQUIS

THE influence which the printed page has had upon agriculture cannot be definitely measured. The idea has been generally accepted that practical and, especially, successful farming has until recently been conducted apart from the directions given in books. The disfavor with which the countryman who considers himself especially practical has regarded those who consult the written experiences of others in books has been too generally dwelt upon in discussions of the literature of agriculture.

The influence of the printed page is particularly subtle. The casual reader often believes that he has received no benefit from an academic treatment of a topic, yet his subsequent methods are indisputable evidence that he has absorbed an idea and adopted the suggestions, even though he believes he has not. To say that the most important single influence for the improvement of agriculture has been the periodical press would be both trite and unnecessary, yet no discussion of the influence of the printed page upon agricultural methods would be complete did it not begin with this premise.

A sketch of the development of agricultural literature is necessary to secure an adequate appreciation of its importance. Its beginnings are unknown, and there were probably treatises on practical agriculture in early periods of Chinese history of which we now have no record. There are only occasional glimpses of the development of the art of husbandry in the early history of man. These appear in Biblical literature and in Egyptian records and later become more evident in the writings of the Greeks and Romans.

The first foundations of the literature of husbandry which may be said to support the present structure were laid by the Roman writers, and many of the fundamental propositions presented by them may still be accepted with trifling modifications. The husbandmen of to-day would be benefited greatly by a thoughtful perusal of the advice of Cato and Columella.

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[1] Adapted from Annals of the Amer. Acad., 40: 158–162, March, 1912.

Following the Roman period there is a stretch of centuries until the time when the early English writers appear. Arthur Young has been mentioned as the forerunner of our modern agricultural writers, and he unquestionably set a standard which has been seldom equaled and rarely surpassed in descriptive and helpful writing on rural topics. The awakening which resulted from the entertaining works by Young was the beginning of the agricultural revival in England, and was also coincident with the beginning of modern agriculture in America. The friendly relations between Young and George Washington unquestionably had considerable to do with the popularity of the writings by the former in America.

Among American pioneers were a few capable, foresighted men who appreciated the importance of permanent records in agriculture, and their work is principally to be found in the proceedings of the various agricultural societies then in the forefront of the agricultural advance. Even before the opening of the nineteenth century there was a considerable volume of helpful agricultural literature not only in proceedings of societies but in a few periodicals and in a number of excellent books. Following the opening of the new century the increase in printed matter relating to the farm and the field was steady but slow. Periodicals appeared and after more or less successful careers were absorbed, transformed or abandoned until the end of the first quarter of the century found very little substantial advancement. Beginning about 1830 the quantity and the character of books and journals on agriculture received a considerable impetus. Capable men began to realize that an interchange of ideas was necessary. Books for farmers could no longer satisfy those who were interested in a given subject because of the distribution of the people over a wider area and the growing complexity of rural problems. The earlier journals were published and edited by men of ideals, backed by the courage of accomplishment, who looked upon their journals as agencies for progress rather than mere commercial enterprises. They stood for certain reforms and improvements, and though sometimes radical and extreme in their methods, their purpose was on the whole to improve agriculture, which they unquestionably did.

The three prime divisions of agricultural literature then, as to-day, were: First, the periodical; second, the public and semi-public document, and third, the book, the three standing in this order as to numbers distributed. Periodicals reach a larger audience than either the proceedings of societies, some of which are private and others semi-public documents, or books which have a more limited circulation but perhaps a greater influence upon those who are actually reached.

As a conclusion of this hasty glance at the development of agricultural literature, we find at the beginning of a new century that periodical literature is most highly developed and specialized, and, in the opinion of many, commercialized to an extreme degree which must sooner or later result in the consolidation or transformation of many journals. With approximately five hundred periodicals devoted to one or many of the phases of agriculture and related topics, the field of periodical literature may be said to be crowded. These numerous periodicals send out literally millions of copies each week, and while a large proportion of the rank and file of rural people do not read a periodical regularly, all are touched directly or indirectly by the ideas thus distributed. Were they properly distributed, there would be several copies each month for each person engaged in agriculture in the entire country. This consistent dissemination of literature, going on as it does without ceasing and with growing force, constitutes the greatest agency for agricultural improvement.

Next in order of importance must be placed the public documents. They have increased in numbers within the last decade with great rapidity, and within the past five years the quantity of reliable free literature for the man on the farm has been almost doubled. There is little doubt that this increase will continue for some time to come. The recognition by the daily newspaper of the importance of agriculture, and consequently the regular appearance of departments concerning such matters is one of the newest and most significant phases of this rapid increase of printed matter on farm topics.

For the books on agriculture there is less to be said. The most valuable works now found in our libraries are the product of the last decade. The tendency for more popular and attractive literature has unquestionably brought down the average quality of the books produced. The new book that will remain authentic for a decade is the exception, yet there are many books now near the end of their second decade of popularity that continue to meet with a large demand. The character of the new works on agriculture is on the whole entirely helpful, since a new type of literature which is both interesting and instructive is certain to be evolved through the experience of the publishers.

To pass to the social significance of this literature, its improvement in quality and its increase in distribution and in influence are due to the appearance of a generation that is prepared to be benefited by it. As soon as men are trained to put human experience in rural affairs into forceful, convincing writing, the reader will be able to secure more material aid from such writings. The facility with which reliable matter may be secured is the greatest point in favor of its development. We receive our new agricultural thoughts in our daily press along with the news of progress in other industries. The organization of press bureaus within the last few weeks by the agricultural colleges, state experiment stations, boards of agriculture and federal organizations is an important advance step in this direction. Few items of particular significance in agriculture now escape the daily press, and whereas such news was previously written in a form designed to be of general interest, it is now prepared by a special writer often trained in agriculture, so that it is both interesting and accurate.

Plans are in operation in several state experiment stations to send regularly to the local newspapers carefully prepared matter designed to meet local needs. This newspaper matter on agriculture is closely followed by the dissemination of clearly written and attractive circulars and bulletins dealing with special topics. These appear either as reading courses or as separate publications just as the subjects are timely. Bulletins of this character are now being issued regularly by a large number of the leading experiment stations and boards of agriculture, and are being distributed through the mails, at farmers' meetings, banks, etc., until the numbers that are actually placed in the hands of working farmers aggregate millions of copies each year. The printed proceedings of state and local associations of stockmen, horticulturists, grain-growers, etc., are distributed to members and others at practically no cost to the recipient. A library comprising literally tons of material, most of it trustworthy, is being assembled by many farmers at absolutely no cost beyond the postage on their letters of request. The consumption of agricultural books has increased markedly during recent years. The extension of lecture courses into outlying districts has gained the attention of several people who as a consequence become interested in following up these addresses by a careful study of the books written by the same men. Once the working farmer has a taste of the benefits which he can secure from a careful study of such literature he demands large quantities of printed matter.

Much of the agricultural literature of the past decade has been local and specific in that it has dealt with particular problems as they exist in a particular community, and has not been designed to broaden the farmer's social relations. It is noteworthy that a large percentage of the newer literature deals with his social relations; the periodical press as well as books and public documents now deal with social questions. The traveling library, which is growing rapidly in favor in rural communities in many states, now has its quota of good books and bulletins dealing with agriculture. The shelves of the reading-rooms of all kinds of gathering places for country people now bear their burden of the new literature. While much of it falls far below the standards established by the best writers, the influence which it has is on the whole beneficial. Agricultural literature is on the average of as high a quality as the technical literature of any industry, and if judged with consideration of its quantity it perhaps exceeds in interest and helpfulness the average of the printed page of other industries.

The present need is not so much more literature as a better interpretation of farm problems, both economic and social. There is a vast amount of repetition and generalization in present-day writings. New ideas and details are growing less frequent from day to day. In the mass of literature a signboard is needed to point the way for the uninitiated. This interpretation of the printed page is expected to be the next important advance in the field of the literature of the farm.

THE SOCIAL VALUE OF THE TELEPHONE[1]

G. WALTER FISKE

AMONG these modern blessings in the country home, one of the most significant is the telephone. A business necessity in the city, it is a great social asset in the rural home, like an additional member of the family circle. It used to be said, though often questioned, that farmers' wives on western farms furnished the largest quota of insane asylum inmates, because of the monotony and loneliness of their life. The tendency was especially noticeable in the case of Scandinavian immigrant women, accustomed in the old home to the farm hamlet with its community life.

To-day the farmer's wife suffers no such isolation. To be sure the wizards of invention have not yet given us the *teleblephone*, by which the faces of distant friends can be made visible; but the telephone brings to us that wonderfully personal element, the human voice, the best possible substitute for the personal presence. Socially, the telephone is a priceless boon to the country home, especially for the women, who have been most affected by isolation in the past. They can now lighten the lonely hours by a chat with neighbors over household matters, or even have a neighborhood council, with five on the line, to settle some question of village scandal! All sorts of community doings are speedily passed from ear to ear. Details of social plans for church or grange are conveniently arranged by wire. Symptoms are described by an anxious mother to a resourceful grandmother and a remedy prescribed which will cure the baby before the horse could even be harnessed. Or at any hour of the day or night the doctor in the village can be quickly summoned and a critical hour saved, which means the saving of a precious life.

On some country lines a general ring at six o'clock calls all who care to hear the daily market quotations; and at noon the weather report for the day is issued. If the weather is not right, the gang of men coming from the village can be intercepted by 'phone. Or if the quotations are not satisfactory, a distant city can be called on the wire and the day's shipment sent to the highest bidder—saving money, time, and miles of travel.

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[1] Adapted from "The Challenge of the Country," pp. 66 68. Association Press, New York, 1912.

All things considered the telephone is fully as valuable in the country as in the city and its development has been just as remarkable, especially in the Middle West where thousands of independent rural lines have been extended in recent years, at very low expense.

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CHAPTER XI

CORRECTIONAL AGRICULTURE AND RURAL POLICE

A. CORRECTIONAL AGRICULTURE

THE OUTDOOR TREATMENT OF CRIME[1]

HARRIS R. COOLEY

There is no distinct outcast class of offenders. The establishment of the outdoor or farm prison is one expression of this new attitude. It is a long step from the gloom and depression of the felon's cell to the sunlight and fresh air of the open field. The normal environment of the country tends quickly to reëstablish a normal life. The open-air treatment is as helpful to the victim of vice and crime as to the victim of tuberculosis.

In a number of the institutions of our country the outdoor methods have been tried with marked success. Dr. Leonard, Superintendent of the Ohio State Reformatory at Mansfield, has the spirit and attitude toward his young men which arouse in them a surprising sense of honor and fidelity. There are nearly a thousand prisoners, many of them committed for most serious offenses. A school of conduct or of ethics helps to maintain the moral atmosphere of the institutions. The trusted men enter into a formal bond with the superintendent. Out of eighteen hundred young, vigorous fellows who have been trusted to work out on the six-hundred-acre farm, only nine have violated their trust and run away. As one sees these men in the open, sunny fields, many of them without guards, doing faithfully their daily tasks under normal conditions, it is difficult to realize that a few years ago they would have toiled inside crowded, gloomy prisons with heavily barred windows. They themselves have constructed their shop buildings within the wall for the employment for winter months and stormy days, but these are as full of light and fresh air as a model factory. The institution impresses you as a training-school with a helpful, hopeful attitude toward life.

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[1] Adapted from the *Outlook*, Vol. 97: 403–8, Feb. 25, 1911.

The Province of Ontario, under the direction of the Provincial Secretary, W. J. Hanna, is developing an outdoor prison at Guelph. The spirit of fellowship, coöperation, and confidence prevails. Some temporary buildings shelter the prisoners who work under the open sky, cultivating the soil, ditching, grading, and making roads. One of the Canadian pastors, who perhaps had been skeptical about the project, walked over the farm and saw the groups of men laboring in the fields. He said to me, "I was so moved by it that I went off by myself and cried." In his enthusiasm the head officer declares that "the prisoners have done a great work." With this attitude the Guelph Prison Farm will do much for the imprisoned, and still more for the citizenship of Ontario.

In Cleveland we began the outdoor treatment by purchasing a group of farms ten miles from the city, and before any permanent buildings could be erected we tested the plan by taking "trusties" and other prisoners from the City Workhouse and lodging them in the old scattered farm-houses. Our farmer neighbors were frightened. Our friends prophesied that the prisoners would all run away. The plan worked. Most of the men completed their sentences, giving faithful and willing service. We ourselves have been surprised at times at the results of some of our ventures with these men. The confidence placed in them, the useful work in garden and field, the tonic of the sky and trees, developed a new sense of honor and a common sentiment that it is a mean and cowardly thing to "take a sneak from the farm."

In four years five thousand prisoners served time on the Correction Farm. These men have worked at excavating for our buildings, quarrying and crushing stone, grading, road-making, under-draining the land, clearing dead timber from the forest, and doing general farm labor. They have had better food, for they have raised it themselves. The officers in charge of the working groups of laborers have been really foremen rather than typical prison guards. The purpose has been not simply to locate the institution in the country, but to have a great estate as a basis for unlimited useful employment, and also as a means of controlling and shaping a large environment. The Correction Farm is part of a great tract of nearly two thousand acres, or more than three square miles, on which are the Tuberculosis group, the Almshouse group, and also an extensive municipal cemetery to be graded and developed by prison labor. The area is so large and diversified that the Almshouse group is a mile and a half from the Correction group, and two hundred feet higher. Each of the four divisions is distinct on its own five hundred acres, yet out on the broad fields and in the light, airy shops of the Correction buildings every prisoner can be used at his best in the raising of food and the making of all those things which will add to the life and comfort of themselves and the other unfortunates who are the residents of the Farms.

A visiting judge said to me, ''It is so fine out here, I should be afraid some of these prisoners would want to stay.'' Near by a group of men were shoveling dirt into a grading wagon. I said to him: ''Judge, you see those men at work; they are drinking an abundance of pure water, they eat heartily, they sleep well. They say to themselves, 'This is not ''made work,'' this is real, genuine work. Free men right over there are getting a dollar and a half a day for doing this.' The old prison cell, the food, the confinement of their labor, tended to depress them and to make them hopeless. This treatment quickly brings them to themselves and arouses the normal man. There is a psychological element, which you have not thought of and which we did not fully foresee, which makes these men more anxious to go back and again take their places in society and industry. At the expiration of their sentences they go out without the prison pallor, stronger in the face of temptation, and ready at once to do a full day's work.''

For the friendless prisoners when released a Brotherhood Home Club grew up in the city, largely through the efforts and support of the men themselves. The purpose of the Brotherhood is to find them employment and to provide for them a comfortable place in which to live until their first pay day.

That the colony movement is the outgrowth of a common feeling and attitude is manifest from the fact of its springing up under varying conditions in different countries. In 1892 the Belgian Government began the organization of Merxplas in a barren and desolate region twenty-five miles from Antwerp. This is a penal colony established primarily for vagrants, but which receives offenders with sentences as long as seven years. There are at present about five thousand prisoners. The grounds are laid out on a broad, general plan. The men have constructed the buildings, including a fine church. They take pride in caring for the surrounding lawns, the trees and flowers, the gardens and orchards. The group is in the midst of a great tract of cultivated fields, green pastures, and planted pine forests. Director Stroobant estimates the present value of the estate at a million dollars. To develop all of this out of the naked, barren land must awaken interest and hope in the hearts of many of the laborers. Those who had special tasks in the care of the stock seemed to feel an ownership in the horses and cattle. One prodigal son showed us a young pig which he had in his arms.

With a small military guard as a reserve, these five thousand irregulars and unfortunates are controlled and directed by a staff of only eighty wardens. Some of the better prisoners assist in the supervision of the work. The most serious offenders are confined in buildings with large interior courts. They are thus held more securely, and also kept from direct association with the others. Their open courts, however, furnish opportunity for much outdoor life and labor.

In addition to work on the farm, other industries are carried on, such as brick and tile making, wood-working, mat, boot and shoe making, weaving, and tailoring. The men receive small wages, a part of which is paid in colony money, which they can spend. The balance is paid to them on their discharge. As one sees the multitude of men, quiet and orderly, going to their vaious places of employment, he is convinced that it is possible to conduct even a great centralized prison on the general colony plan.

In many ways the model prison farm of Europe is Witzwill. It is on a mountain-girt plain about thirty miles west of Berne, Switzerland. The great tract of two thousand acres, which formerly was wet, boggy, and known as the great Moss, has been, by draining and cultivation, transformed into a beautiful and valuable estate. There are two hundred and fifty prisoners, with sentences of from two months to five years. The men themselves have constructed the Swiss buildings, the barns, workshops, dormitories, and dwellings. They seem fond of working with the animals. With the oxen and heavy wagons, they came trudging in from the harvest-fields for their noonday rest. They have fifty horses and seven hundred head of cattle. Accompanied by twelve of the prisoners, the young stock had been sent for the summer months to the pastures of the higher mountains. They sell butter, cheese, and vegetables, but all manufactured goods are for the institution or the State.

The spirit of confidence and democracy is manifest. The guards or foremen were washing up for dinner along with the other men. The children of the employees were playing about. The Superintendent, Mr. Kellerhals, who has been with the farm from the beginning, said to us, "Yes, these men, when well dressed, look just like the people outside." About one-half turn out well, one-fourth are doubtful, and one-fourth come back. In a year only three had run away.

In the hospital we found clean beds with outlook on the garden and pastures. The windows were open and the fresh mountain air was blowing in, but there were no patients in this outdoor prison ward. It stood out in marked contrast to many of our own institutions, which by their construction and environment are the breeding-places of tuberculosis and other physical and moral diseases. Recent research has brought to light the fact that the mortality from tuberculosis among our own prisoners is three times as great as in our general population.

Germany is making extensive use of the farm colony method in dealing with vagrancy and minor misdemeanors. At the Labor House of Rummelsburg, near Berlin, out of two thousand prisoners, one thousand were working outside on the sewage farms owned by the municipality. In France, Holland, Hungary, and Italy the Government has made successful experiments with the colony system for the treatment of offenders. The testimony is that it is less expensive for the State and much better for the health and reformation of the prisoners.

The reflex influence on society of more rational and humane treatment of its erring members is the larger part of this beneficence. For its own sake society cannot afford to be cruel and brutal to its meanest and most unworthy member. Russia is to reap a more bitter harvest than her exiles. Love your enemies is a good social law. If we lift society from the bottom, we all move upward together. We thus rise not to decline and fall. To be helpful to "one of the least" who is in prison is not simply a religious sentiment; it indicates the only method of social development which will conserve and make permanent the achievements of our civilization.

OUTDOOR WORK FOR PRISONERS[1]

THOMAS J. TYNAN, WARDEN, COLORADO STATE PENITENTIARY

I THINK the ideal work for convicts is outdoor work, preferably farm work, which puts them back on the soil and takes them away from the cities and their temptations. I believe every state should have large farms whereon they might work their prisoners with profit to the state and the men as well. Men who work in the open air become strong physically and it is much easier to reform a strong healthy man, than a poor weakling, who has not proper balance. When men are taught farm work, they can easily obtain positions on farms after their release, where they are as a rule kindly treated and where they will have some social standing, which is an impossibility in the crowded cities. By the use of convict labor on the roads the taxpayers have been more than reimbursed by the value of the roads built. This labor does not enter into competition with free labor, as these roads could not otherwise have been built on account of the expense. The counties pay for the maintenance of the camps in which the men are worked, but the men are in charge of overseers from the prison, who thoroughly understand the handling of this class of labor and the building of roads. Our report will show you the immense saving in this way of road building, and the state is thus acquiring hundreds of miles of good roads, which could not otherwise have been built. We expect to more than double our mileage during this present period and also to double the value of our farm products.

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[1] Adapted from Report of Convict Labor Commission, State of Connecticut, Public Document—Special, Hartford, Conn.

THE PRISON FARM[1]

WM. J. HOMER

WARDEN, GREAT MEADOW PRISON, COMSTOCK, N. Y.

I AM much in favor of the plan in operation here, *i.e.*, a number of farms, or a farm connected with each prison as they are established. I believe there should be some shops maintained in which, perhaps, certain men, though well behaved and amenable to discipline and absolutely to be trusted, should be retained throughout the extent of their sentences, because there are a certain number of men in every prison population who have come from the cities, have been in factory work all their lives, and in order to support their families will have to return to factory life on release. To take such men for a year or two and put them on the farm would not make farmers of them but would spoil a factory hand. But with these exceptions, I think all those who show themselves fit for it, should be sent to farms where they may gain strength of body and cleanliness of mind which farm work seems to bring to men, that they may be able to go back to liberty stronger and better men than they were on entering prison.

HEALTH ON PRISON FARMS[1]

W. O. MURRAY

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF PRISON COMMISSION

WE employ the greater part of our labor on farms. The State owns eight farms, aggregating about 32,000 acres, and we have four plantations rented or leased, aggregating about 18,000 acres, making in all about 50,000 acres. The land actually in cultivation on these farms in the aggregate amounts to about 46,000 acres. We employ in the cultivation of these farms forces ranging from 2,800 to 3,500 convicts. A small farm is located in an isolated section, separate from the male convicts, and it is gratifying to state that they have been nearly self-sustaining. We also have another farm near Huntsville Prison owned by the State where we have segregated the tubercular and trachomatous convicts. Also upon this farm we have what we call the "Old Soldiers' Home," where we keep and care for the old and decrepit convicts of both the Confederate and Union forces. This has proven to be rather an expensive department of our Prison System. However, we have the satisfaction of having a remarkable record with reference to the deaths caused by tuberculosis in this System. Out of a prison population averaging something over 4,000 convicts last year we had only seven deaths from tuberculosis, and it is my candid opinion that if the jails of the State could be put in a sanitary condition, such that the convicts would not contract tuberculosis before being transferred to the penitentiary, it would be but a few years until we would have eradicated tuberculosis from the Prison System, or at least the ratio of tuberculosis among the convicts would be a negligible quantity in the System.

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[1] Adapted from Report of Convict Labor Commission, State of Connecticut, Public Document—Special, Hartford, Conn.

IN THE HEALING LAP OF MOTHER EARTH[1]

WINTHROP D. LANE

The Indiana Village for Epileptics, opened eight years ago and just coming to full development, comprises 1,246 rich acres about two miles north of Newcastle and forty-five miles from Indianapolis. It lies in a country of rolling farm land that rises and falls through an altitude of 100 feet or more. Old Indian mounds dot the landscape and frequent groves of walnut, ash, maple, oak and poplar help to break the view.

The visitor for the first time will not know when he reaches the village. No walls enclose it, no impressive architecture borrowed from the monasteries of another age stamp it as an ''asylum.'' It is just another farm. Groups of attractive, two-story brick buildings, where patients live, eat and sleep, lie back from the road, but even these are more than likely to be passed without notice.

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[1] Adapted from the *Survey*, Vol. 35: 373–380, Jan., 1916.

''The scientific treatment, education, employment and custody of epileptics,'' says the law, shall be the object of this farm community. Translated, this means that here the epileptics of the state may lead as nearly as possible the normal life of farmers. Those for whom most can be done educationally are given the preference; purely custodial cases and persons violently insane are not received, though the law does not prohibit them.

Inmates do not have to work quite so hard as most farmers, for they are the wards, not the servants of the state. Nor can they come and go entirely as they please, for epilepsy is usually accompanied by mental defectiveness and supervision is therefore necessary. This supervision may amount to no more than being constantly within sight of other inmates, for epileptics display the same fellow-feeling and care for one another as the deaf. An epileptic who stands by and does nothing while his fellow has a seizure often finds himself an outcast for a time from his associates.

Two hundred and thirty men and boys are now living in comfort on this farm. When the land has been fully improved and all buildings have been erected the village will be equipped to care for about 1,000 or 1,200. Women, it is hoped, will be admitted next year. They will live in separate buildings a mile from the men.

The care of epileptics, like that of feeble-minded, is in the main an educational problem. A school is to be erected, and shops for various forms of industrial activity. The work of the farm also is given an educational value. There is almost no kind of farm labor in which the epileptics do not assist. They help in the growing of crops, the care of live stock and poultry, in building fences, in making and repairing roads, and in keeping the weeds down at the sides of the road. Sixteen epileptic teamsters, whose seizures come only at night or can be predicted beforehand, water, feed and bed their own horses. ''I do not believe,'' declares Dr. W. C. Van Nuys, superintendent of the

Village, "that I could get sixteen paid teamsters who would give us as little trouble in their work as these selected patients."

The village for epileptics is more than a place in which to keep busy. It is a place in which to enjoy some degree of individual life. The congregate plan of housing inmates, which brings them all together under one roof, has been abandoned, and instead patients are scattered about the farm in small groups, carefully selected to be as nearly homogeneous as possible.

When women are received the Blue River will be used as a natural division for the sexes. On each side three separate colonies will be built: one will be devoted to adults of the better class, one to children of the better class, and one to low grade adults and children. The colonies for the men are already partly built and occupied. The low grade adults and children, while in the same group, live apart from each other.

Each colony has its own orchard, garden and small fruits, its own horses, pigs, chickens, ducks and turkeys. The living rooms are provided with phonographs, newspapers and magazines. Some of the inmates receive their own home papers. *Leslie's Weekly*, *Judge* and *Life* are the most popular of the magazines taken, and "Robinson Crusoe" is most in demand of the books.

While Indiana is not the first state to make special provision for her epileptics, the movement is comparatively new. The first special public institution for epileptics was established in 1867 at Bielefeld, Germany. In 1886 a colony was opened in England by private philanthropy. Ohio opened its institution for both sane and insane epileptics at Gallipolis in 1892. From these beginnings the movement has grown rapidly. There are to-day fifty institutions in Germany having special provisions for epileptics, nine in England and several in Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Australia and Canada.

New York was the second state in this country to found an epileptic colony, her institution for sane epileptics at Sonyea being open in 1894. Massachusetts, New Jersey, Kansas, Missouri, Texas, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan and Wisconsin have since been added to the list of states making special provision.

Some of these states have been quick to see the advantage of the true farm village type of institution. Michigan acknowledges her debt to Indiana in the plan and arrangements of cottages on her 1,510 acre farm at Wahjamega, Tuscola county, bought in 1913. Dormitories, dining-room and day room occupy the ground floor, and employees' quarters the second. An old two-story hotel on the site was remodeled into a cottage for twenty-four patients. There are now living in cottages provided out of the original appropriation of $200,000 for the establishment of the institution, 155 patients.

Illinois is laying out her village of 1,100 acres at Dixon on the small group plan. No buildings for inmates are to be more than two stories high, some of them being limited to one story. All buildings are to be of fireproof construction. Iowa is distributing groups of cottages about her 1,144 acre farm. The buildings for patients, both hospitals and cottages, are one-story and of fireproof construction.

The Indiana farm community for misdemeanants is a city hewn from the wilderness. Already within its first year this farm is actually emptying the jails of nearby counties.

Indiana has long hated her jails. For a score of years investigations, newspaper exposure, commission reports and all the artillery of denunciation availed nothing against these "agencies of vice and training schools of crime." Now, by the simple expedient of providing a wholesome, bracing substitute, Indiana is literally starving her jails and work-houses out of existence. Some that heretofore aspired to a nightly population of eight or ten now find themselves caring for only two or three.

If the besetting evil of jails is idleness, the outstanding virtue of this farm community is industry. Perhaps it was well that the institution got its start when the ground was covered with snow and there were only tents to live in. To work was the only way to be comfortable, and the spirit then engendered has been maintained. It is now kept before the minds of the prisoners in many subtle ways. "Positively no loafing" read signs at a score of points, giving those who pass a sense of choice that can have but one psychological effect—a desire not to exercise that choice.

Perhaps it is the frontier character of the work that gives the air of industrious coöperation so noticeable in the present stage of the farm's development. Few people could be put at the task of building a town where none had been before and not be interested. Each prisoner can see the beginning and end of his own job, and its relation to the work of others. He can see a bustling community taking form before his own eyes and as a result of his own efforts. Work, under circumstances like these, is more than a mere means of passing time; it is fascinating, constructive, creative, and it has caught the slumbering interest of many a roving spirit whose previous acquaintance with the law was limited to iron bars and walled idleness.

A large part of the work in walled prisons is either not found at all outside of these prisons or is monopolized by women or handicapped classes like the blind. It is not educative and adds little to the prisoner's wage-earning capacity. Nothing could be stronger than the contrast between this and the industrial opportunities on Indiana's penal farm. The buildings, even to the cutting and sawing of much of the timber, have been erected by the prisoners. The sewer system is now being installed by prisoners. Prisoners are building two and one-half miles of railway switch over rough land, doing the grading themselves. They are building their own roads. They are laying thirty miles of fence. They will install their own power plant. They are now making handles for all their implements and tools. This winter they will make brooms. They not only erected, entirely unaided, the toilet facilities in the dormitories, but installed the plumbing and shower-baths as well.

Indiana is not the first to establish a penal farm. Such farms are common in Europe. There are three in this country besides Indiana's, one at Cleveland, Ohio, one at Kansas City, Kan., and one at Occoquan, Va.

Indiana has learned that she cannot build congregate institutions fast enough to take care of her insane. So she has changed her plans. She has decided to provide the tonic of farm life for all her insane who can profit by it. When the legislature of 1911 appropriated $75,000 for the purchase of such a colony, Governor Marshall and his advisers selected the Eastern Hospital for the parent institution.

Unlike the villages for epileptics and the farm for misdemeanants, which are technically "villages," this tract is a real colony. It draws its population direct from the Eastern Hospital, instead of from the whole state, and it is administered through that institution.

On the rich acres of Wayne Farms, as the colony has been christened, thirty patients of varying degrees of insanity are now living the simple life. Eleven occupy a remodeled farm dwelling called Cedar House; another group a remodeled school building called Maple House. An old tavern, built about 1840 for the convenience of immigrants to the West, is being made over and will house twenty-five more patients.

Patients now at Wayne Farms do teaming, plowing, grass-cutting and similar occupations under little or no supervision. Some are put in charge of the farm machinery in the fields. On the day of my visit five patients were digging a cellar at Cedar House under an employed foreman. Others were hoeing beans. One sturdy workman stopped chopping wood long enough to urge us to collect for him some unpaid bills, fictions of his diseased mind.

In Wisconsin districts containing one or more counties have established small agricultural communities for their insane, only the most acute cases being consigned to hospitals.

This plan was worked out thirty-three years ago, and for the past eighteen years Wisconsin has kept abreast of the demands of her insane population for institutional care. The counties build the farm communities (asylums) and each county sending patients to one pays one-half the maintenance of its own charges, the state paying the other half. This is the best system of state care for the insane yet devised in this country.

FARMING AS A CURE FOR THE INSANE [1]

W. E. TAYLOR

I AM fully convinced that a thoroughly equipped farm properly conducted will contribute more to the cure of the insane than any other one thing we may resort to. I base my assertion upon experience and experiments of ten years and the results obtained are most gratifying.

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[1] Adapted from National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 17:943–4, F. 23, 07.

In order to obtain the best results, farming or gardening should be done in a strictly scientific manner and the patients should be partners in the work, and in a manner enjoy a part of the benefits; that is, one or two acres should be attended by a few patients and a premium offered for the best products.

The seed should be selected to suit the soil or the soil analyzed and fertilized to meet the requirements of the seed planted. The crops should be rotated scientifically to prevent an exhaustion of the nutriment in the soil. This should all be done under the direction of a thoroughly competent foreman, and the patients should be taught and made to understand the purpose of analysis, fertilization and rotation, as well as how to plant and cultivate. Experiments in this line are carried on at this institution and we get splendid results. At a small cost for proper fertilizers our soil is made to yield three and four times more than previously raised with no more work or seed required.

Employment of any kind is always good, but when some incentive is offered, the patient is stimulated to greater activity, and the old morbid concentration is changed and the mind undergoes a phenomenal transformation. Drudgery and routine will not accomplish the desired results any more than a wagon wheel running in the same track for months will obliterate a rut.

Every state institution for the care of the insane should have at least one half acre of good tillable land for each patient. None but thoroughbred stock should be raised as they cost no more to feed and care for than the ordinary scrubs and the profits are much greater.

The plan of allotting stock to patients as well as land, results in a rivalry, which brightens the patient's mind and in a short time restores him to his normal condition if his case is at all curable.

Aside from the great curative benefit the patient receives, the institution is provided with an abundance of vegetables, which materially reduces the cost of maintenance. Again, the state farm should be conducted on a high scientific plan as an example to the community. Reliable and adaptable seed should be provided the neighboring farmers and they should be permitted to purchase at a nominal cost thoroughbred stock.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN RURAL NEW YORK[1]

KATE HOLLADAY CLAGHORN

A GENERAL impression is abroad that juvenile delinquency is peculiarly a problem of the cities and especially of the foreign population of the cities. In so far as this impression is based upon statistics of arraignments or commitments it must be verified from some other source, because of the unfitness of such statistics to give adequate information about the problem. In cities many acts which are disregarded in the country districts are punishable by law: and in cities the standard of enforcement of law, especially against children, is much more rigorous than in the country. The result is that the official record of rural juvenile delinquency is unduly low because it fails to include much bad conduct that is passed over without court action and soon forgotten but which, if committed in the city, would bring the children concerned to the judgment of the court and add their names to the list of delinquents.

We can say, however, from the facts brought to light, that there is a problem of juvenile delinquency in rural districts and that it is a serious one. During the investigation little communities were found which at first sight appeared to have no problem yet, after study, each yielded up a quota of "bad" children of various grades. The showing in the pages of the report may well bring doubt into the minds of readers who are under a delusion that their own neighborhoods are free from taint.

Looking over the case histories and such summary figures as we are able to use, we find emerging distinctly two general types of character: The active, enterprising, intelligent child—the born leader—and the duller and more stupid child, the natural complement and accomplice and victim of the first type. Many instances of such partnerships will be seen in the case histories. The obviously defective child is in the minority.

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[1] "Juvenile Delinquency in Rural New York," U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., pp. 11, 15, 21–31, 40, 54; Bulletin Pub. No. 32.

What have community influences to do with producing juvenile delinquency? First let us look at the general setting—physical and social.

Within the bounds of our definition of "rural" the separate communities studied had a considerable range of variation in character. One type is the little country village— the trading center of a surrounding agricultural district. Its population is made up mainly of the native-born white of native parentage—the old American stock—and is decreasing rather than increasing because its young men and women, as fast as they grow up, are caught in the current flowing to the large towns and cities.

Going out of the village center, and "on the hill" perhaps, we come upon little aggregations of people, not big enough for a village group nor yet wholly isolated on scattered farms. Such aggregations may gather about some crossroads or straggle along some secondary highway. Here the conditions described for the village are in most respects exaggerated for the worse. These little centers, too, are often the survival of better days, and there has been an even greater drain on the population than on that of the village. And this has resulted even more definitely in a survival of the least fit. As a net result the little isolated settlement is apt to be of a distinctly lower grade. There is less intelligence and activity; the social standard is lower.

Still farther away from the center we come to the isolated farm where many of our cases are found. This may be a good, pleasant, decent home, but its owners are so far away from social influences of any kind that they find it hard to take advantage of them. On the other hand, the isolated dwelling may be a tumble-down old shack to which have withdrawn a family group too inefficient to maintain themselves in an organized community, or too vicious to be tolerated there. Here we reach almost the negation of social life. Practically all good influences are wanting. This is such an extreme type, and the evil influences so obvious, that it was thought undesirable to devote much time to hunting out examples of it. It seemed better to lay emphasis on the normal community, the "country village" that even yet holds a large proportion of our native citizens, rather than on the degenerate ''hill people'' who are comparatively few in numbers. But such families were not avoided when they came within the range of our study, and several instances will be found described.

A step was also taken in the other direction—into villages where there is a background of agricultural prosperity in the surrounding farming district, and into villages feeling the stimulus of industrial development and either growing into towns or showing the social effects that come from contact with such towns. Sometimes being in the neighborhood of the large town emphasizes the ''deadness'' of the little town. The young people get away more easily to cheap amusements—the moving pictures, the cheap theaters, the garish saloons, the evening promenade along the brightly lighted town thoroughfare—and find their own village the duller by contrast. And they are more rapidly drained away permanently by the industrial opportunities nearer at hand.

Industrial activity may strike the village itself. Small factories start up, and a factory population is established. Foreigners begin to come in, and the original social homogeneity of the American country village is lost. It is interesting to note, however, that foreigners appear to have been little involved in the delinquency found.

Still another type is the country village which has felt the stimulus of industry by becoming the summer or suburban residence of people who have achieved prosperity in the industrial centers. Here a very distinct social stratification is set up, in which ''the natives'' is a term in common use almost as patronizing as ''the foreigners,'' used in the cities. Such activity—better schools, better churches, organized play—for the building up of the social ideal. The danger here is that the improvements may not really take root in the community on which they are superimposed.

Next to take into account is the economic background. In general, in the communities studied it is that of the farm and of agriculture. The usual complaint in the average country district is that ''farming does not pay.'' This means that the old-fashioned farms and farming of our early years are being displaced by the opening of more fertile districts, the introduction of more effective methods, requiring greater intelligence and more capital than the old-style farmer had. In one region studied the attempt is made to carry on farming in the old ways. Here a large proportion of the farmers are poor. Two-thirds of those who have records in the farm bureau have labor incomes varying from below $200 to $500 a year. Of this two-thirds, one-fourth make from $100 to $200, while one-fifth have no labor income at all. And in the hill districts the abandoned farms are more numerous than the cultivated.

Such unfavorable economic conditions mean poor and insanitary living conditions, overwork, lack of recreation, and difficulties in the way of making use of educational opportunity.

Another region studied is, as a whole, rich and flourishing. Its population is increasing rapidly. Land values are constantly rising everywhere. It is, in fact, a land of milk and honey, of large, imposing farmhouses and enormous barns, of beautiful automobile highways winding their way between miles and miles of apple trees and peach trees and vineyards. Nearly every farmer owns an automobile, their boys go to college and their girls go to the various normal and training schools. There is a high level of comfortable living and progressive Americanism. The village population is largely made up of retired farmers, who have either leased their farms or sold them and come to the village to live.

These villagers are often wealthy, owning several farms within a radius of five or six miles. There are high schools in the larger villages and the children of the well to do drive in from their farms in comfortable carriages drawn by sleek horses.

But in this region, too, out from the villages, back from the fertile farms, will be found rocky, infertile districts where poverty-stricken tenant farmers find it hard to make a living.

In all but one of the communities studied the farm and its work are seen to be a powerful influence in the child's life, especially that of the boy. The boy living in a farming district is expected, as soon as he is big enough to hold a hoe, to do his part in the work of either his father's or some one else's farm.

Even where farmers are prosperous and farming pays, the work the boy has to do is hard and lonesome. If the boy is at work on his father's farm, the father is in no hurry to pay him wages, wishes to keep up the parental control indefinitely, and the boy gets tired of it and wants to get away.

Then somebody else's boy must be hired. And the farmer is not always considerate or reasonable in his treatment of him. In the cases studied are a number of instances where a boy has gone to work for a farmer or has been placed with one by some society or institution and has been badly overworked and misused. More than once the act of delinquency covered under the former charge ''incorrigible'' or ''vagrant'' consisted in running away from a farmer for whom the boy was working. It must not be concluded that in all these cases there was misuse of the boy, but it may be assumed from the evidence at hand in these instances and others that usually there was some bad condition from which the boy wished to get away.

One of the cases was that of an eleven-year-old boy at Industry who, before his commitment to the institution, had been placed with a farmer, but was so abused by these foster parents that he was removed by the truant officer. An interview with the boy brought out the fact that the farm where he lived was seven miles from the village. When asked what he did to have a good time he replied that he ''used to plow and drag and milk and go to see the boys evenings.'' The farmer used to whip him for poor work and also refused to buy the necessary school books for him.

Besides being hard on the boy physically, farm work causes truancy, since there is a constant inducement to keep the boy out at harvest time and at spring planting to work.

Farm work under prevailing conditions in the rural districts is, then, not only hard on the children while they are young, but affords little opportunity for the future.

This evil, however, is becoming more and more clearly recognized, and plans of one kind and another are already being tried in many places for the betterment of farm conditions.

The one active but disavowed rival to the church as a social center for old and young is the village tavern.

In some cases the village itself is ''dry,'' but any one in search of refreshment can easily find the way to a neighboring town or village where rules are not so strict. The tavern is the catchall for every sort of amusement proscribed by the church and the stricter people of the town. Here dances may be given, here there may be a pool room or bowling alley, and here sometimes may be found rooms to let for immoral purposes. Here all the gossip of the neighborhood is interchanged; and here, in the bar, pool room, or bowling alley, may be found—legally or illegally—numerous little boys who learn to drink, smoke, swear, steal, tell dirty stories, and amuse the adult crowd thereby.

After so many years of agitation the large part drink plays in all social problems hardly needs to be stressed. Perhaps, after all, it should be stressed, because with the discovery of other sources of evil has come a tendency to minimize the one about which we have heard so much. But certainly the present investigation shows anew and decidedly the great harm done by drink, not only through tavern training of the young but also in making parents and guardians cruel or idle or inefficient, as found in case after case, and creating those bad home conditions which are most favorable to the development of juvenile delinquency.

No account of social centers in a country district would be complete without mention of the village store. It is the clubhouse for men and boys who do not like to go to the length of haunting the village tavern; or for all, in "dry" villages where no tavern exists. Here neighborhood matters are discussed, personal affairs, politics, the latest scandal. Here it may happen that "racy" stories are told and matters of sex held up to indecent comment and ridicule. The store is to a startling extent the place where social ideals are formed and where the minds of the young are impregnated with the principles which later will govern their work and play.

Here, too, a taste for gambling may be fostered. This is a form of recreation greatly under the ban of opinion in rural communities, but as a matter of fact, quite frequently indulged in. It may be carried on in connection with games of various kinds—pool, poker, and so on—entered into spontaneously. But worthy of special note are cases mentioned in the investigator's report of petty gambling schemes, devised to play upon and encourage the gambling instinct, run in connection with the store. Such devices are familiar in city neighborhoods where they are with greater or less severity suppressed by the police. They are no doubt introduced into country districts in the process of organization of trade from some large center which is so characteristic a feature of economic life to-day.

Beyond these main centers of social life there is little in the average rural district. Grange meetings, farmers' picnics, neighborhood parties occur, but they are few and far between. The great complaint of the young people in the country neighborhood is "nothing to do." This gap they try to fill with sex excitement and with riotous mischief that may end in larceny and burglary.

The political unit—the village as a whole—should also be doing some true social work. One task peculiarly appropriate is the improvement of vocational opportunities. Towns and villages are already active along this line in the formation of boards of trade and other organizations intended to build up business in the town. For the farmers, greater use of coöperative methods of marketing and extension of rural credits will help.

The political unit is also responsible for its share in enacting and enforcing social legislation, and civic organization is needed to arouse community feeling along these lines. The evils of child labor, of truancy, of drink can be cured only when the communities themselves want them cured.

Village and town boards and officials charged with the duty of giving poor relief also have a direct responsibility in the matter of juvenile delinquency. Lack of judgment in caring for a dependent family may result in the delinquency of the neglected children. The official who carries on such work as this should not only realize his responsibilities, but have some adequate training in the principle underlying social work.

B. RURAL POLICE

RURAL POLICE [1]

CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON

The law is the law of the state. Municipal corporations have no original authority to enact legislation; their ordinances cannot go beyond charter limitations. The enforcement of law, the punishment of crime, the prevention of dangerous acts are all functions of the commonwealth. And this with good reason: it would be intolerable to have an independent law-making authority set up within the territory of a state. No local community can be permitted to become a nursery of criminals, a cave of Adullam serving as a resort for dangerous elements. Horse thieves and burglars will not restrict their malignant activity to the township of their residence. They may even spare their neighbors and live by spoiling persons at a distance.

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[1] Adapted from *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 40: 230–233. March, 1912.

The criminals of a city go out to plunder rural banks and stores. The common interest does not stop at city lines. The common enemy must be caught where he can be overtaken. The recent extension of trolley lines into the country and the introduction of swift automobiles have widened the field for professional burglars of cities. Against these trained villains the thin safes of country merchants and banks are mere tissue paper.

The rural constabulary is no match for city bred criminals, skillful in the use of dynamite and electricity, and shrewd in studying the hours best adapted for their exploits. The sheriff at the county seat is a toy in the hands of a professional sneak thief or burglar. Even if he can spare time from collecting the fees which fall to him as spoils of his office, he has no natural or acquired qualifications as a detective; he is both awkward and ignorant. Local agents of peace and justice have only a local knowledge of persons bent on crime, usually those who are most harmless, stupid inebriates, naughty boys whose mothers have neglected to spank them. Rural sheriffs and constables know nothing of sleek, well dressed, polite criminals who reside in comfort in the city and put up at the best inn of the country town while planning to rob a bank or a merchant's cash drawers. The big, burly sheriff is a baby in cunning when pitted against a wily safe-blower who from childhood has lived by his wicked wits and fooled professional detectives. The rural officials are made cowardly by their habits of life; they know nothing of the daring which is characteristic of urban firemen and policemen who face death daily and never think of shrinking. A desperate fellow may dynamite fish, contrary to law, in a lake near a state university; but farmers and professors are afraid to inform, and county officials are too timid to arrest. State game wardens, just because they move about on large areas, seem to have some influence on killing game out of season, but their organization leaves much to be desired.

What is needed may be inferred from the statement of essential facts in the situation. We need a larger unit of police control; under our political arrangements the governor is the natural head of all the forces of public safety. It would be a good beginning to clothe the chief magistrate of every commonwealth with authority to direct county sheriffs and to hold them to strict account. But a more important measure would be to furnish the governor with a complete and thoroughly organized corps of detectives, plain clothes men and mounted police, under a professionally trained chief responsible to the governor for methods and results. In the central office would be found an identification bureau, with Bertillon and finger print records, in close and regular correspondence with the federal bureau of identification; and this office would furnish descriptions at a moment's notice for any point in the state or elsewhere. The state police force of a state would coöperate with those of other states in matters of detection, arrest and extradition. Suspicious characters in villages and cities would be kept under espionage and plots would be discovered and thwarted. Of the necessary legal adjustments between municipal police, sheriffs and the state force this is not the place to write. Such adjustments could easily be made in accordance with precedents already established.

The men of this country owe it to the wives and daughters of farmers to provide for them better protection. Self-appointed patrols are not enough, and the state ought not to leave private citizens to guard their own barns and homes. The insolence, the fierce passion and the dangerous brutality of certain types of negroes in the South could be effectually curbed by a guard of mounted police. It is the hope of immunity which nurses sexual passion into assault. Animal impulses meet with their best counter-stimulus and inhibition in the frequent and unexpected appearance of alert and omnipresent mounted policemen.

Certain results may fairly be expected: In the war with crime it is essential to make the way of the transgressor as hard as possible, and, at the same time, open ways to honest industry. Wild animals disappear before the hunters of civilization. Gangs of criminals are like predatory animals and must be harried and watched until this mode of living becomes unendurable. Swift and sure justice begins with a trained corps of detectives. All admit that mobs and lynchings are a disgrace and menace to our civilization. They arise out of prolonged neglect and freqeuent miscarriage of justice. They would diminish and disappear with a well disciplined and effective rural police.

A LAND OF LAW AND ORDER[1]

ELMER E. FERRIS

THE development of a new, prosperous country attracts the adventurous as well as the enterprising. Young unmarried men come West in large numbers. The restraints of former home life and social customs are absent. Under such circumstances it is easy to form habits of drinking and gambling and to fall into other forms of moral looseness. Personal safety and property rights are more or less insecure. Society tends toward lawlessness.

Such, however, is not the case in Northwest Canada. Quite to the contrary, it is doubtful if there is any country where person and property are better protected. The Albertan farmer was right when he said that this is a country of law and order.

One must travel through the country to appreciate it properly. One finds himself in an atmosphere of respect for law. The people feel safe. They assume that the law will be enforced. The amount of crime and disorder that comes under one's personal notice is so small as to be negligible, and one sees comparatively little of it in the newspapers—at least crime occupies a relatively insignificant part of their space.

The question then arises, What makes it so? What is there about the social organization and the underlying forces of this young civilization that gives it this distinctive feature? It is evident that in the thought of the farmer it was largely due to the efficiency of two institutions, the Royal Northwest Mounted Police and the courts. "When a man commits a crime here," said he, ''these mounted police get after him, and they land him.'' Such is certainly the reputation of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police. It is an organization that is unique among world-famous constabularies. It is a body of men numbering 651; composed of 51 officers and 600 men, commissioned officers, and constables, with 558 horses. They police a territory composed of the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the extensive districts of Mackenzie and Keewatin, excluding, of course, the larger cities, which have their own constabulary. The most distant detachment is on the Arctic Ocean, 2,500 miles from headquarters at Regina—a distance that requires two months to travel.

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[1] Adapted from the *Outlook*, Vol. 98, 685–690, July 22, 1911.

The entire force is under the command of Commissioner A. B. Perry, with headquarters at Regina. The whole territory is divided up into eight districts, each of which is under the charge of a superintendent with headquarters respectively at different points in the two provinces. At each divisional point there are barracks, a jail, and complete equipment. There are many duties performed by the force in addition to what may be termed regular police duties. They maintain the common jails, escort all prisoners to trial and those who are convicted to the penitentiary, attend upon all criminal courts, serve all criminal processes, escort lunatics to the asylum, etc., etc. They also conduct important patrol expeditions through unsettled and unsurveyed regions, visit the settlers once a month in sparsely settled sections, make investigations and report upon the condition of the natives, the state of immigration, the nature of the soil, crops, etc., in all outlying regions that are beginning to be settled up—all this in addition to their regular police duties.

One gets an idea of the nature and amount of work done in the detection and punishment of crime and the preservation of order from the report of Commissioner Perry; it shows for eleven months of the year 1909 that 6,888 cases of crimes, misdemeanors, and petty offenses were handled by the force, and that convictions resulted in 5,849 cases, being 86 per cent. of cases tried. The special reports filed by the divisional superintendents, which go into the facts with more or less detail, are full of interesting cases showing the courage and *esprit de corps* of the force.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE POLICE[1]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The Pennsylvania State Police is a model of efficiency, a model of honesty, a model of absolute freedom from political contamination. One of the great difficulties in our large States has been to secure an efficient policing of the rural sections. In communities where there are still frontier conditions, such as Texas and Arizona, the need has been partially met by establishing bodies of rangers; but there is no other body so emphatically efficient for modern needs as the Pennsylvania State Police. I have seen them at work. I know personally numbers of the men in the ranks. I know some of the officers. I feel so strongly about them that the mere fact that a man is honorably discharged from this Force would make me at once, and without hesitation, employ him for any purpose needing courage, prowess, good judgment, loyalty, and entire trustworthiness. This is a good deal to say of any organization, and I say it without qualification of the Pennsylvania police.

The force has been in existence only ten years. It has cooperated efficiently with the local authorities in detecting crime and apprehending criminals. It has efficiently protected the forests and the wild life of the State. It has been the most powerful instrument in enforcing law and order throughout the State.

All appointments are made after the most careful mental and physical examination, and upon a thorough investigation of the moral character, and the past record, of the man. All promotions have been made strictly from the ranks. The drill is both mounted and dismounted. The men are capital riders, good shots, and as sound and strong in body and mind as in character.

This is the force which Katherine Mayo describes in a volume so interesting, and from the standpoint of sound American citizenship, so valuable that it should be in every public library and every school library in the land. In the author's foreword the murder of gallant young Howell, and the complete breakdown of justice in reference thereto under our ordinary rural police system, makes one's blood boil with anger at the folly and timidity of our people in tamely submitting to such hideous conditions, and gives us the keenest gratitude to the founder of the Pennsylvania State Police. This was a case of ordinary crime, in which the sheriff and county constable were paralyzed by fear of a band of gunmen. Other forms of crime are dealt with in connection with industrial disturbances. The author shows how until the State Police Force was established the State, in times of strikes, permitted the capitalists to furnish their own Coal and Iron Police, thus selling her police power to one of the contending parties, that of the vested interests.

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[1] Adapted from the Introduction, by Theodore Roosevelt, to "Justice for All, the Story of the Pennsylvania State Police," by Katherine Mayo, pp. 8–11. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, (copyright Katherine Mayo, Bedford Hills, N. Y.)

The author also shows how after the establishment of the Pennsylvania State Police this intolerable condition was ended; local demagogues and foolish or vicious professional labor leaders in their turn attacked the Pennsylvania State Police with the foulest slander and mendacity, because it did impartial justice. The prime lesson for all true friends of labor to learn is that law and order must be impartially preserved by the State as a basis for securing justice through the State's action. Justice must be done; but the first—not only the first, but a vital first—step towards realizing it must be action by the State, through its own agents, not by authority delegated to others, whereby lawless violence is summarily stopped. The labor leader who attacks the Pennsylvania State Police because it enforces the law would, if successful in the long run, merely succeed in reëntrenching in power the lawless capitalists who used the law-defying Coal and Iron Police.

No political influence or other influence avails to get a single undesirable man on the Force, or to keep a man on the Force who has proved himself unfit. I am informed and I fully believe, that not a single appointment has ever been made for political reasons. The efficiency with which the Force does its duty is extraordinary. Any man who sees the troopers patrolling the country can tell from the very look of the men what invaluable allies they are to the cause of law and order. In the year 1915 the force made 3,027 arrests and secured 2,348 convictions—80 per cent. of convictions. The men are so trained and schooled in the criminal laws of the State that they know just what evidence is necessary. They deal admirably with riots. Perhaps there is nothing that they do better than the protection of women in sparsely populated neighborhoods. Small wonder that the criminal and disorderly classes dread them and eagerly hope for their disbanding!

Year by year the efficiency of the force has increased and its usefulness has correspondingly increased. All good citizens in Pennsylvania should heartily support the Pennsylvania State Police. The sooner all our other States adopt similar systems, the better it will be for the cause of law and order, and for the upright administration of the laws in the interests of justice throughout the Union.

CANADA'S ROYAL NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE[1]

AGNES DEAN CAMERON

The Royal North-West Mounted Police, a handful of men less than a thousand in number, maintain order over an extent of country as large as Continental Europe and do their work so well that life and property are safer on the banks of the Athabasca and on Lesser Slave Lake than they are to-day in many crowded corners of London and Liverpool. How largely looms the individual in this vast land of Canada, this map that is half unrolled! Men, real men, count for more here than they do in Old World crowded centers.

This is the most wonderful body of mounted men in the world. Surely more individuality goes into the make-up of this force than into any other; it is a combination of all sorts of men drawn together by the winds of heaven. Five years ago the roll-call of one division disclosed an ex-midshipman; a son of the governor of a British colony; a medical student from Dublin; a grandson of a captain of the line: a Cambridge B.A.; three ex-troopers of the Scots Greys; the brother of a Yorkshire baronet, and a goodly sprinkling of the ubiquitous Scots. For years a son of

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[1] Adapted from *Littell's Living Age*, 276: 658,659, March 8, 1913.

Charles Dickens did valiant service with this force, and has left behind him a book (as yet unpublished), "Seven Years Without Beer!"

Far back in the year 1670 another body of men dominated Canada, the staunch Scottish servants and officers of the Ancient and Honorable Hudson's Bay Company whose character-mark for loyalty and fair dealing remains indelible on the early pages of the history of this land. The charter which was granted to them in the reign of Charles II had run for two hundred years and expired in 1870, leaving all Canada west of the Great Lakes in a condition of readjustment and unrest.

Illicit whisky-dealers, horse-thieves, and smugglers poured into Western Canada from the United States to the south over the invisible and unguarded parallel of forty-nine degrees, and Canadian Indians and Canadian interests needed protection. This condition of affairs was the immediate cause of the formation of the R. N. W. M. P. in the early seventies, the launching of the project and the forming of the force being the pet scheme of the then premier, Sir John A. Macdonald.

The 300 charter-members of the Mounted Police had their work cut out for them in the early days on this far frontier where cupidity and lawlessness reigned and no law of God or man had previously been enforced north or south of this part of the international boundary line. The profit to the American "wolfers" had been great and was measured not in dollars but largely in buffalo-robes and sometimes in squaws. The traders from the United States brought bad whisky and worse ammunition and fire-arms to the Canadian Indians and for their own gain encouraged tribal wars and the stealing of horses.

In the forty years of its existence the R. N. W. M. P. has closely identified itself with the growing history of Western Canada, being the greatest moral ally to every creative factor of the country's growth.

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CHAPTER XII

A. THE RURAL HOME

WOMEN ON THE FARMS[1]

HERBERT QUICK

My explorations of the souls of farmers, backed by my own life on a farm, and the lives my mother, sisters, aunts, cousins, and women neighbors lived, lead me to the conclusion that the "drift to the cities" has been largely a woman movement. I have found the men on farms much more contented and happy than the women. My mother wanted my father to leave the farm, and move to a college town where the children could have "a better chance." He did not accede to her wishes; and one bit of spiritual drift was checked. But just to the degree that farmers have reached the plane of letting the wife and daughter vote on the future of the family, they have been pushed toward the city. Out on broad cattle-ranges I have found the men and boys filled with the traditional joy of open spaces and the freedom of spirit which goes with it; but in many, many cases, their women were pining for neighbors, for domestic help, for pretty clothes, for schools, music, art, and the things tasted when the magazines came in.

There is a movement for better things among the farmers' wives of the land. There is a new organization on an international scale. There are questioning and revolt and progress in the rural homes. This idea is finding recognition among them: that all the prizes of progress are no longer to be allowed to go to the man-life on the farm, while the woman-life is left to vegetate.

I spent a day in a New England neighborhood recently, and at the sight of the old stone walls which divide field from field, my prairie-bred back ached, and my fingers bled in spirit at the thought of the awful labors of the farmers of old who dug those stones, carried them off the land, and aligned them in those old fences. But progress came along and emancipated the man. He found that it paid to abandon the stonefields and work the richer, kinder Western lands with machinery. He could make more money by the use of tools on which he rode. It became profitable to thresh by steam, harvest by horse-power, put the corn in the soil by machinery, bind the grain with twine and hoe with a horse-drawn machine. To handle manure with a fork does not pay when it can be spread by means of a machine. Potatoes are sliced, dropped, dug, cleaned, and elevated into wagons by machines. Tomato plants, cabbage plants, and the like are planted by machines.

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[1] Adapted from *Good Housekeeping*, Vol. 57: 426–36, Oct., 1913.

The farmer has come to be a man who operates machines, and his life is made more interesting and easeful thereby. There is still a great deal of hard drudgery in his life, but progress and invention have been busy in relieving him of that dreadful burden under which our farming ancestors bowed, grunted, and sweated. The internal-combustion engine, while it has transformed the lives of so many city people through the motor-car, has become the chore-boy and handy-man of the farm.

But all these improvements have come into the life of the man on the farm because they have been profitable. I do not know of one which the American farmer has generally adopted merely because it gave him ease. He has not spared himself. He has been emancipated in large measure because the easier ways of doing things have promised better pay for his labor.

And here is where the farm woman has not received a fair deal in the partnership. Not that she has been entirely without relief from the march of progress. The wind-mill, or the gas-engine which pumps water for the live stock, also saves her the back-breaking carry from the spring-house which sent our mothers to town invalids, or made their lives a burden. The invention of the cream-separator and the establishment of the creamery have freed woman from some of the drudgery of the old-fashioned dairy.

The farm woman no longer makes cheese, because the cheese-factory can do it better and more cheaply. The introduction of labor-saving machinery has decreased the number of ravenous mouths which she must satiate with food. The steam-thresher, carrying its own cook and crew, saves her the labors of serving hordes of threshers.

These things helped her because they were introduced as profitable innovations, and not as woman-saving ones. More amelioraions of woman-life on the farm will come in for the same economic reason. In many parts of the country women milk the cows; but the next development is sure to take the form of the general adoption of mechanical milkers. These machines are being thoroughly tried out, and where twenty or more cows are kept in a herd, the milking-machines pay. Therefore they will be adopted; and thereby both women and men will be able to lead easier and fuller lives of greater happiness on the farms.

The present woman movement on the farm is toward a higher plane than the economic plane. It is a demand for happiness and ease and the fruits of progress in the house, as well as out of it.

In brief, the farm woman is now demanding, and receiving, better things in the order of their nearness to her daily life—first, things in the house for her housekeeping; secondly, things in the house for her children's happier and fuller home life; and thirdly, things outside the house, in the neighborhood, for the better and fuller community life of herself, her children, her husband, and her neighbors. This is the outline of the rural uplift which is gathering force every day.

Millions of farmers' wives do their own housework. The problem of domestic help is more difficult on the farm than in the city. They care for their children—and their families average larger, I am sure, than do the families of city women. They have been emancipated to a large degree by the factory system from the task of making the clothes of their families; but they still make their own clothes, in the main, and much of the clothing of their families. They cook, cure meats, make sausages, bake their own bread and pastry, churn, make butter, tend gardens, and once in a while lend a hand in the haying, or other out-door work. The women of the cities complain that they have lost their economic usefulness in the household, and demand a share in the productive work of the world. No such wail ever arises from the women of the farm. Their hands are full of necessary and productive work from morning till night.

In a large measure this work is done without the modern aids to housework which city women possess. If a vote could be taken of the farmers' wives of the nation as to the improvement in the house most generally needed, I think there can be no doubt that the referendum would be overwhelmingly to the effect that the first great need is running water in the house! And this is the first concession to progress that farm women are getting. Millions of them have no cisterns, and the simple first step toward a parity of women's work with men's is to put a cistern of soft water in commission, with a pump plying into a kitchen sink. The next thing is a water-back to the kitchen range, and a faucet of hot water. These lead directly to a washing-machine for the laundry work.

Not in words, but in deeds, and still more in thoughts, the insistent need of emancipation from drudgery is making itself felt in rural homes. Not in words, but in spirit, these things are appearing in the current thought of American rural life. It pays to make the women happy. It pays to emancipate slaves, and especially when those slaves are our wives, our mothers, our daughters. It pays in money, indirectly, if not directly; but whether or not it pays in money, it must be done. Any farm that can afford a silo can afford a bathroom and a septic-tank sewage-disposal system. Any farm that can afford a cream separator can afford a washing machine. Any farm that can support pumping and storage facilities for the live stock can afford running water, hot and cold, in the house. Any farm that can maintain a manure spreader can afford an acetylene, gasoline, blaugas, or electric lighting system. Any farm that can afford self-feeders for the cattle can afford vacuum cleaners and electric labor-saving devices for the women. Any farm that can justify binders, silage-cutters, hay-forks, pumping engines, shredders, side-delivery rakes, corn harvesters, potato planters, and finely equipped barns can afford every modern convenience for making the home a good place for women to live, work, rear children, and develop in them the love for farm life.

A corn-shredder or a silo costs more than an electric lighting system for the farm home—a system which will give the women all the things that city women receive in the way of electric service. A modern hog-house, a thoroughly good set of poultry buildings, a concrete feeding floor, an improved equipment of stanchions for the dairy barn, or a good bull to head the herd, is not much, if any, less expensive than a system of water-works for the house, which places water under pressure in the bathroom. kitchen, and bedrooms.

Let no one understand from what I say here that the conditions of work and living which weigh down upon millions of farm women, and which account for much of the prevailing discontent with farm life, have caused, or will result in, much of that sex revolt which is so much talked of in feminist circles all over the world. The farmer's wife is not discontented with her husband, nor with his treatment of her. She may even in many cases throw the weight of her vote against the expenditures necessary to emancipate her from unnecessary drudgery. To her the mortgage on the farm is a nightmare as baleful as it is to her husband. She knows her husband's business, and is as solicitous as he is for management which will bring profits.

But there is a woman here and a woman there who sees that the whole scheme of family life falls to ruin if the home suffers in comparison with homes of those friends and relatives who live on wages in the towns. She and her husband begin to realize that it does not pay to build the farm up into a profitable property which is despised by the very children for whom they are giving their lives. And they are studying statistics, too. They find that such facts as have been compiled by Dr. Otis, of Wisconsin, establish the fact that farms pay just in proportion to the amount of the farm value which is invested in equipment, rather than in mere land. And myriads of farmers are forewarned by their wives' discontent with farm life that a crisis is approaching in which the decision will have to be made between removing the family to town or bringing the things of the town to the family.

When, however, the tired and harassed farm wife comes to the point of asking herself whether it is worth while to stay on the farm, she thinks secondarily of the disadvantages of work and living which have frazzled her nerves and depressed her spirits. She thinks first of her children. That is the Eternal

Mother. She finds that the children are, in most parts of the country, deprived of the school advantages and social advantages which the city gives even to the slum-dweller.

The American farm women constitute our largest class of economically useful women. This is shown by the fact that marriage is regarded as a burden by the poor man in the city, but is almost a necessity for the poor man who owns and works a farm. The poultry products of the nation are worth as much as the cotton crop, exceed the wheat crop by four hundred millions of dollars yearly, and are worth more than the combined values of the oat, rye, barley, and potato crops. This enormous product, if lost to us, would be felt ruinously at once in increased cost of living. It must be credited mainly to the woman of the farm. For she it is who produces nine-tenths of the poultry products—the fowls and eggs—of the nation. Give her credit also for butter, cheese, vegetables, pickles, preserves, and a thousand other things. Allow her, too, her share in preparing the means for men who grow the rest of the food for us, and for keeping their houses.

Remember also that she bears our sturdiest children while she helps to feed us all. And then ask yourself who has done anything for the farm woman? She has been left to shift for herself, and must still do so. She still bakes her own bread; she still scrubs her own floors. She washes her own dishes; she cans and preserves and dries her own fruit and vegetables. She has bent faithfully, dutifully, uncomplainingly over these appointed tasks while, to the rhythmic swing of its pounding machinery, the march of modernity has borne class after class out beyond her. On her rests the burden of emancipating herself from the things that weigh upon her life; and she is rising nobly to the task.

There are clubs and societies already formed and forming. Thousands of farm women are making up their minds that their sisters who have abandoned the farm and farm life have deserted the field on which they should have fought and triumphed. They are studying, where they formerly succumbed; and advancing, where they formerly retreated. There is revolt in the air against counsels of submission and fatalistic retreat. The twentieth century is to see a renaissance of farm life. And the women who formerly led the fight are to head the counter-charge for better things on the farms.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SECRETARY HOUSTON[1]

FROM A FARMER'S WIFE

MARY DOANE SHELBY

I THINK that I must tell you first that country living is comparatively new to me. To my four years of life on a farm I have a background of many years of city life, during which I did the strenuous things which women of leisure are apt to do to-day. In the midst of these activities a great doctor told my husband that he was in a bad way physically and must henceforward lead an out-of-doors life. It was decided that we should try farming. Health was the first consideration in the selection of our new home, but we must make the enterprise a paying investment. We chose a beautiful stock farm in the foothills of the Ozarks, in a sparsely settled neighborhood which had had no newcomers for years.

The roads are poor. When crops fail, our neighbors accept the situation philosophically and keep their families in food by cutting timber and hewing railway ties. They are a simple people whose wants are easily satisfied. They know little of the outside world save as an adventurous son or daughter has left home to seek employment as a streetcar conductor or domestic servant. Their forebears have lived here for nearly a hundred years. While their opportunities for "book learning" have been incredibly meager, they come of such fine stock that the lack of a formal education serves to emphasize native ability. I feel very modest when I am with them.

Within a radius of ten miles I am familiar with family conditions. Unless the mother is still a young woman, one finds from seven to sixteen children in each household. I have given the two extremes. I humbly confess that I fall below a fair city average in this regard. With this exception, and the fact that I have more material possessions, my problem and my neighbors' as women trying to make a home in a promising but undeveloped farming community are the same.

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[1] Adapted from the *Outlook*, Vol. III. 923–5. Dec. 15, 1915.

What does every home-maker want primarily? Health, and a chance at the higher life for her family—an education for her children.

The farmer's wife should find these things possible to attain. As a matter of fact, they are out of reach of most of the women of this neighborhood. The reason for this, I believe—and here is a conclusion which surprised me—is that the Government does not give the country woman the protection which the city woman receives and which she should have if she is to be the economic factor in the National life which she will become if she intelligently follows the path marked out for her by your Department.

Of late, when I have been reading your bulletins on sanitation, Mr. Secretary, I have been reminded of Moses. He had probably given the Children of Israel such instruction with regard to matters pertaining to health before he realized the necessity of putting his farm bulletins into law. It is to remind you of this that I am writing you now.

On a neighboring farm, where the barns are not far from the house, there is a large pile of stable manure. It has been standing there for weeks. My neighbor's wife knows why she has so many flies; she also knows the menace to health. Her husband knows too. Your information has reached them. But it seems that at the present time there is no available field for this fertilizer; no man and team to haul it; sometime it will be attended to; just now "he" is busy with other work. The city man would be prevented by law from thus jeopardizing the health of those around him. The farmer is permitted to dally with the situation.

Why could there not be rural health departments to insure sanitary conditions? The farmer and his family are said to be National assets. Why not protect them? The forest has its rangers; conservation of forces would suggest a like protection for farm folk.

Another neighbor is permitted to let the drainage from his farm buildings pollute his water supply. Why not have building restrictions for the farm?

At our annual "graveyard cleaning," when the valley people meet at the burying-ground next the school-house, every family has its little mounds from which the father cuts the long grass and weeds, and over which the mother allows herself time for the luxury of tears. A conference with our overworked country doctors would reveal the many causes for a high death rate in naturally healthy regions. The city slogan "save the babies" might well be extended to the country.

I will frankly confess that I had much more reason for confidence in the milk which I used to buy in bottles in the city than I have now that it comes from our own cows. I have obtained tolerable conditions through strikes and boycotts, refusing for days to accept milk until the stables were properly cleaned. That I have been successful in these hazardous domestic enterprises is entirely due to my family's sense of humor, which has never yet failed me. I could not advise my neighbors to resort to my methods, although their need is greater than my own. I am sure the course pursued by Moses would be better for family tranquillity.

It is a usual thing, when the summer exodus comes, for the newspapers and family physicians to warn city people of the probability of finding contaminated water and unsanitary conditions generally in the country. There seems to have been little thought of the helplessness of the women and children who are compelled to live (or die) in those regions. One must conclude from the universal warning that the problem is a National one, calling for new legislation and its enforcement.

I have mentioned our roads. In certain stretches they are tragically, laughably, hysterically rocky. In other stretches they are punctuated with stumps. Few women would venture to drive a team over them for any distance, although the men, through practice in driving, are able to cover the rough miles at a remarkably good gait.

It is a matter of record that on the ground of bad roads alone the Government has so far refused our community free rural delivery, although there are many men who could easily qualify as carriers, covering the territory in the time required by the Government and serving ninety families three times a week. Don't you think, Mr. Secretary, that bad roads are a very good reason for having a free delivery of mail? Isn't it better for one responsible man to go over the road than that ninety families should have to send for their mail or go without? I am not speaking for Big Hawk Valley alone. In these stretches of country where money is not plentiful, and where the farmers and their wives are dependent upon their own physical exertions for everything necessary for living, Governmental and newspaper urging doesn't take us very far on our way toward good roads. When we shall have automobile roads we shall not need rural delivery. In the meantime we are paying our taxes and are really a part of the United States of America, although we should hardly realize it save for sentimental attachments.

Since I have been living in Big Hawk Valley, Mr. Secretary, I have often wished for a vote, although it was far from my intention to express my wish in this letter. But here, more than any region I have known, the ballot seems to be a subtle but insurmountable barrier between me and all questions subject to a vote. Our women take part in the work of men. If necessary, they help take care of the live stock, gather wood, and work in the fields, but their sphere most emphatically does not include "meddling" with questions to be decided by men alone.

I am reminded of this by a placard which is posted upon the door of the school-house. It calls attention of parents to the State law which requires six months' yearly school attendance of every child of the required age. Owing to a curious knot which no one attempts to cut, the children of this neighborhood are getting only four months' schooling in a year, although we are paying taxes for an eight-month term.

The situation has been brought about through a mistake in districting the county. Our district includes a near-by mountain and is of illegal length. Since the mountain children must be taught as well, or as poorly, as the valley children, and since neither the mountain fathers nor the valley fathers are inclined to two wagon trips daily to take the children to school, two little school-houses were built, one in the valley, the other on the heights. One teacher divides the eight months' term between the highlanders and the lowlanders. This year she serves the mountain folk from July through October. The valley children will attend school from October through January.

I should be an ingrate, Mr. Secretary, if I closed without telling you that I owe my vocational training as a farmer's wife almost entirely to your Department. My text-books have been the Government bulletins. I have them bound, indexed, and catalogued. There is not a day when some one of the household does not refer to them. Yesterday I heard one of my aides, a neighbor's daughter, say to the other: "Marthy, if you take that jelly off now, you will be goin' right against the Government!"

WOMEN IN RURAL LIFE[1]

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

In the more intelligent scheme of the new country life, the economic position of woman is likely to be one of high importance. She enters largely into all three parts of our program—better farming, better business, better living. In the development of higher farming, for instance, she is better fitted than the more muscular but less patient animal, man, to carry on with care that work of milk records, egg records, etc., which underlies the selection on scientific lines of the more productive strains of cattle and poultry. And this kind of work is wanted in the study not only of animal, but also of plant life.

Again, in the sphere of better business, the housekeeping faculty of woman is an important asset, since a good system of farm accounts is one of the most valuable aids to successful farming. But it is, of course, in the third part of our program,—better living,—that woman's greatest opportunity lies. The woman makes the home life of the Nation. But she desires also social life, and where she has the chance she develops it. Here it is that the establishment of the coöperative society, or union, gives an opening and a range of conditions in which the social usefulness of woman makes itself quickly felt. I do not think I am laying too much stress on this matter, because the pleasures, the interests and duties of society, properly so called,—that is, the state of living together on friendly terms with our neighbors,—are always more central and important in the life of a woman than of a man. The man needs them, too, for without them he becomes a mere machine for making money; but the woman, deprived of them, tends to become a mere drudge.

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[1] Adapted from "The Rural Life Problem in the United States," pp. 139–141, Macmillan, N. Y., 1910.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CHANGING RURAL HOME[1]

GEORGIA L. WHITE

THE committee on Rural Home Making begs to submit the following report of its plans for work for the coming year. In looking over the available material for a study of the problem of the rural home and its relation to the rural community and rural life, the committee finds little that can be utilized for a careful study of the present problems. There has been much generalization concerning the rural home but this generalization has been based upon material which is inadequate and seemingly contradictory.

This lack of reliable material about the home seems to be due to several causes.

(1) The tendency we all have to take for granted the things with which we are most familiar and to assume that the conditions with which we are acquainted are typical.

(2) The intimacy of home relations which makes a study of the conditions in the home, except possibly of the economic conditions, seem to be an intrusion.

(3) The fact that many of those who in recent years have been interested in studying rural conditions and the rural home have been town or city born and bred and, therefore, when they have attempted to make a survey they have used the town home as the standard and have interpreted the phenomena which they found in terms of the town home.

(4) The fact that many investigators have studied the home with reference to some particular reform which they wished to introduce into rural life or with reference to some social scheme which they wished to justify.

(5) The inability of many of those interested in country life

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[1] Adapted from Proceedings 1st Natl. Country Life Conf., Baltimore, 1919, pp. 117-119. National Country Life Assn., Dwight Sanderson, Ex. Secy., Ithaca, N. Y.

to realize the change in rural home conditions, and the tendency they have shown toward assuming that the function which the rural home should perform and does perform in the community has remained unchanged in spite of the great economic and social changes outside the home.

Because of this scarcity of reliable material on which to base attempts to solve some of the problems of the rural home, it seems to the committee that the most important pieces of work that it can undertake for the coming year will be those of—

(1) Gathering together the few studies which have already been made of the rural home and—

(2) Making new studies in different sections of the country and under different conditions, in order to secure, if possible, sufficient material for formulating some tentative statements as to the present status of the rural home in the community, its function, and its problems.

The committee feels that further information should be gathered concerning the following points and it expects, also, to add others to the list:

(1) The functions that the home is performing in the rural community and the degree to which it is necessary or desirable at the present time, with our present community organization, for the home to provide food, shelter, clothing, recreation, sanitation, religious life, etc., for the family.

(2) The relative emphasis now placed in the rural home upon the satisfaction of the desires of the members of the family for (a) food, (b) shelter, (c) clothing, (d) "higher life."

(3) The relationships existing among individuals in a family which tend to retard or accelerate progress in the community. It is felt by the committee that the study of the relationships between men and women and between adults and children in the family may indicate whether the rural home is tending to retain a form of despotism—even though at times benevolent despotism—which is out of harmony with the democratic standards being introduced into the community, because of its failure to provide for a division of rights and responsibilities among its members; or whether the retention of the older form of family organization is lending advantageous stability to the community. For example, when the war made it necessary for the food administrator

to utilize the schools and the agricultural extension service in all its branches to educate the women and the children,—so that food habits could be changed and food saved without great detriment to health,—it was found that much of the time, energy and money used in educating the women and children was wasted and the results postponed because of the form of control within the home, and the question arises whether there is a compensating advantage to the community from this form of organization. It is felt that a careful study of present relationship may not only throw light upon the home conditions but also bring out some interesting facts concerning the relation between the amount of force exerted in the community for bringing about progress and the actual results produced. It may also help to determine whether the relationship that is found to exist is based upon an economic basis or a basis of tradition.

(4) The actions and reactions of the home, the school, the church, the rural government, etc.

(5) The effect upon the integrity of the home of the new interests which are being introduced into the rural communities: *i.e.* whether they are tending toward the disintegration of the home or the integration of the home on new lines.

(6) The fundamental, as well as the immediate, effects upon the rural homes of

(a) The introduction of automobiles, telephones, better transportation facilities and improved roads, especially in so far as they bring the city and country more closely together.

(b) The organization of the Farm Bureau and the introduction into the counties of the Home Demonstration Agents and the Boys and Girls Clubs.

(c) The emergency work which the men, women and children of the rural districts have been doing during the period of the war and the local emergency organizations, such as those formed by the Red Cross, the Council of National Defense, the Y. W. and Y. M. C. A., etc.

These indicate some of the lines of inquiry which the committee would like to follow, though the committee realizes the difficulties attending the securing of reliable material along these lines.

B. RURAL HOUSING

RURAL HOUSING [1]

ELMER S. FORBES

Rural housing as a whole exhibits the same differences, the same degrees of excellence as does the housing of the towns. There are numbers of farms where the dwellings are well built and provided with modern systems of heating and lighting and with every convenience for the economical dispatch of the work of the household, where the barns and outhouses are well kept and clean, and where the sanitation is all that can be desired. At the other end of the scale there are to be found here and there in the country single houses or small groups of houses which exhibit many of the characteristic marks of the slum. Not all, for in the open country at the worst, there is plenty of fresh air and sunlight and space; but there are dirt and filth indescribable, the most primitive sanitation, serious overcrowding and indecent promiscuity. These slum spots exist not only in remote districts far from the railroads, but close search will find them in many communities where they would not be expected and where their presence is known to but few, on narrow country by-ways and lanes, in wild places in the vicinity of the railways, in neglected woodlands; indeed, there is scarcely a hamlet or town within whose limits these disreputable shacks may not be discovered.

Two or three cases may be instanced by way of illustration. The family of a small farmer on the outskirts of a country village was found living in a one room log cabin in utter disregard of the ordinary laws of health and decency. As a consequence, two of the children had been attacked by tuberculosis, and unless immediate action were taken there was every reason to believe that all would become affected. Another such family lived in a dilapidated combination of dwelling and barn, not fit to be the habitation of either cattle or human beings, where the overcrowding was equal to that in the most congested districts of the cities and all sanitary conveniences were conspicuous by their absence. As an example of still lower type there may be instanced a degenerate group of four men, two women and three children who occupied a shack in a clearing of the woods in the neighborhood of a New England town until they were finally dispersed by the authorities.

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[1] Adapted from the *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science,* January, 1914, pp. 110–116.

Such cases can be duplicated almost anywhere. In all of them, with scarcely an exception, the housing conditions are vile, the equal of anything in the slums of the towns, and yet in the opinion of the writer the problem which they present is not essentially one of housing reform. In this respect the particularly bad housing of the rural districts is quite different from that of the towns. City slums are due in large measure to land and business speculation, utilization of land for dwelling house sites which is too valuable for this purpose, an inequitable system of taxation, the lack of any housing law worth the name, inadequate supervision, and a disposition on the part of some landlords to exploit their tenants. These are causes which are in no way connected with the character of the families living in the slums, and their operation can be checked by right legislation honestly enforced.

The slum spot in the open country, however, is not so much due to social or economic causes beyond the control of the occupant as it is to his own mental and moral deficiencies. Land speculation, speculative building, methods of taxation, the greed of landlords, none of these in most cases has anything to do with it. Such dwellings are the natural expression of the lives of the shiftless, feeble-minded, immoral, drunken or criminal people who inhabit them. It is not a better housing law which is required here so much as it is the labor colony, the penitentiary, the almshouse, and the home for moral imbeciles. These social plague spots are the cause of enormous public expense and are a steadily increasing burden upon the industry and thrift of the community. They should be accurately registered, carefully studied, and each one should be disposed of upon its own merits. All this will cost much effort and money but not a tithe of what it will cost twenty, thirty, or fifty years hence, and incidentally it will wipe out the country slum.

Dr. W. C. Stiles, of the U. S. Marine Hospital Service, states that of 3,369 farmhouses in six different States 57 per cent. have no privies of any kind. The better grade of farm house is always provided with some sort of sanitary convenience, but the number where it is anything more than the ordinary outdoor privy is comparatively small. The neglected privy is the greatest danger to the health of the farming community, and a menace to the population of the towns through the part which it must play in the contamination of milk, vegetables, and fruits sent to city markets. It defiles the soil all around it, and unless carefully located may pollute the family water supply. The fact is so generally known that it is not necessary to give statistics showing that serious epidemics have been started by the use of water from country wells polluted by the disease-infected privy. It is the breeding place of countless generations of flies, and when used by persons suffering from any kind of infectious disease, as fevers, dysentery, diarrhea, and the like, the contagion may be spread far and wide by their agency. The family cess pool is but one degree less dangerous than the outdoor privy, and together they have undoubtedly been responsible for a vast amount of sickness and death.

OVERCROWDING AND DEFECTIVE HOUSING[1]

HARVEY BASHORE

What is the result of this overcrowding and lack of proper housing in the country? Just exactly the same as in the great cities. Lack of efficiency, disease, and premature death to many. We have been talking much lately of our conservative policy of lumber, coal and wild animals, but in many instances fail to see the great loss due to human inefficiency brought about by lack of suitable environment. While the great majority of people subjected to overcrowding and bad housing conditions do not prematurely die, yet they have lessened physical and mental vigor, are less able to do properly their daily work, and not only become a loss to themselves and their families, but to the State; and forever stand on the threshold of that dread disease—tuberculosis; for tuberculosis is the one great disease of the overcrowded.

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[1] Adapted from "Overcrowding and Defective Housing," pp. 80–92, John Wiley and Son, N. Y.

Just how much tuberculosis we have in the rural districts in proportion to the great cities is pretty hard to say: but every one who has investigated it is positive in the opinion that there is just as much in the country districts: indeed, some report more in the country than in the adjoining cities. We find it in the farmhouse and the mountain home: habits of carelessness possibly keep up the infection. We do not have "lung blocks," like the large cities, but we do have "lung houses," where case after case of tuberculosis has lived and perhaps developed.

The prevalence of tuberculosis in the country is so evidently marked that there is a growing interest in the subject in many places. The Wisconsin Antituberculosis League, a year or so ago, made a very careful and exact sanitary survey of a certain rural district in that State, relative to the amount of this disease, and found that in some parts of this district the death-rate from tuberculosis exceeded that of Milwaukee, Wisconsin's largest city.

Minnesota also discovered that it had much tuberculosis in its rural districts. "As serious," says Dr. Daugherty, who investigated the subject, "as that in the congested areas of the cities." Following a rural survey of several townships, under the auspices of the State Antituberculosis Association, there were found housing conditions much as I have described in the preceding pages as existing in Pennsylvania. "The average number of people sleeping in one room," says the report, "was four." In one house there were eight, in another nine, and it was not at all uncommon to find five or six. This was not due to the fact that there was not enough room, for in many of the houses the whole family would sleep in one room, use one for the kitchen, and leave two, three, and in some cases four, rooms vacant.

Coincident with this bad housing there was found one township where there were twenty-two deaths from tuberculosis in a population of 500 in ten years: a death rate of 44 per 10,000. These investigators in Minnesota also found that "contributing causes, as overwork and poor food, which play such an important part among the inhabitants of the crowded tenement districts, do not usually count for much in the country. Bad housing and unrestricted exposure to contagion seem to be the great factors." Of course, in certain well-to-do farming districts, such as were under investigation, this would hold good, but in many other places, especially in parts of Pennsylvania known to the author, poor food and lack of food are a vast contributing cause of this disease. A poor constitution to start with, and insufficient food, soon engender a condition which quickly yields to the inroads of the bacillus. As a corollary to this is the rapid improvement of such incipient cases, when put on the food and under the proper environment of a sanitarium.

And now a word, a very short word, about the remedy for overcrowding and bad housing in the country. This probably can not be attacked as in the great cities, by legislative enactment or resort to legal measures, but the solution lies, it seems to me, in proper education by the various health authorities, by the schools, and by the press, and the crusade must be kept up until the people understand that it pays—pays in real dollars and cents—to live in sanitary homes. Educate the rural dweller in regard to the penalties for bad housing, show him how tuberculosis follows in the wake of overcrowding, poor food, and dissipation: in a great many instances he will mend his ways. In Pennsylvania this work is carried on by the Tuberculosis Dispensaries of the State Department of Health scattered all through the State, where they have become the foci for spreading sanitary knowledge of just the sort needed in rural communities. Visiting nurses from these dispensaries go to the homes, and to my personal knowledge do much, very much, to remedy the defects of bad and improper living, and do it without resort to any legal means. There is no factor so potent for good as the work of the visiting nurses of this great health department; and many other States are taking up the work and carrying it forward on the same lines.

HOUSING CONDITIONS ON FARMS IN NEW YORK STATE[1]

L. H. BAILEY

Housing conditions in the country run all the way from very cheap and poor tenant houses to well-appointed large farm residences. Between these two extremes there is every range of condition. The better class of farm residences is all that can be desired. The poorer class is, of course, quite the opposite. Even the better class of farm residences does not represent money value as measured by city and town values. This is largely due to the fact that most of them were built many years ago, when materials were cheap, and also before the addition of waterworks and other modern improvements. A residence in the farming region that is valued at one thousand dollars may be actually more roomy and comfortable than one in the town that is valued at more than twice that sum. In this letter I am, of course, omitting all reference to the country seats of non-residents or absentees.

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[1] Adapted from "York State Rural Problems," Vol. 1: 55–59, Lyon, Albany, 1910.

I have asked Professor Warren to give me his comment on housing conditions as found in his surveys; and most of the following statements of fact are his.

Practically all of the farmhouses in New York State, as in the northern states in general, are made of wood. In the northeastern states nearly all of these houses were built at least fifty years ago. Only a small percentage have been constructed along the newer lines. In Livingston county, which is one of the richest agricultural regions in the country, Warren found that the average value of these houses in 1909 was not quite $1,600. Of course, it would cost much more than an average of $1,600 to build these houses, but this is the estimated average value of the house as it stands. Perhaps $1,000 would be nearer correct for the average value of the farm residence in the State, but it would take over twice this much to build these houses at the present time. The new houses would probably also be worth twice as much, because new and better adapted to the needs.

The average number in the family in Livingston county is 4.2 persons, and the average of boarders or hired men .8, making a total of five persons as the size of the average farm family. Of course, this gives no suggestion as to the number of children away from home. In Tompkins county the average farm family, exclusive of hired help, was found to be 3.55.

The size of the farmhouse is, of course, exceedingly variable, but the average would probably be about six or seven rooms. The farm water-supply is practically always situated at some distance from the house. On some farms running water is piped to the house, but these are exceptions. Bathrooms are yet rare in general farming regions. In western New York, along the lake shore, a considerable number of farmers are installing water-supply and bathrooms, but outside of this section probably not more than one in several hundred of the farms has a bathroom. In one county less than one in 500 was found to be thus supplied. The heat is nearly always provided by a kitchen stove, and in colder weather often one additional stove is used. The chief fuel is wood, but a considerable amount of coal is used in winter, particularly for the second stove. The almost universal system of lighting is with kerosene lamps, although acetylene is used by a small number of farmers. Perhaps more persons have acetylene for lighting than have bathrooms. The privy is located largely by chance, so that it is often near the wells, but in the great majority of cases it is not close enough to be a serious menace to the water-supply. The fact that it is often left open so as to provide a feeding-place and gathering-place for flies is perhaps the greatest source of danger.

All of the above discussion refers to the main house on the farm. The houses occupied by hired help are usually smaller and not in so good repair as are the farmhouses discussed above. Probably tenant houses do not average more than five or six rooms. The difference between them and the other house is likely to be more striking in questions of repair than in actual size.

The change from old housing conditions to new is very gradual. Perhaps it ought to be accelerated by having more attention given to the subject in public lecture and teaching work. It is customary not to discuss personal questions so much as crops and live-stock and commercial situations. If the farmer lacks in some of the mechanical conveniences of city dwellers, he gains in space to each person, light, outlook, storage place, room to move, and ability to control his premises. If he were to add more freely of mechanical conveniences and contrivances, his conditions of housing would be enviable. We need now to have as much ingenuity applied to housing conditions as has been applied to farming practices.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE COUNTRY SCHOOL

AN EPIGRAM[1]

T. J. COATES

"THE average farmer and rural teacher think the rural school as a little house, on a little ground, with a little equipment, where a little teacher at a little salary, for a little while, teaches little children little things."

THE STATUS OF THE RURAL SCHOOL[2]

ERNEST BURNHAM

THE value of the school as an integrating agent in rural community life lies primarily in the success of its work as a school. No single institution can so cheapen rural community life as a poor school, because next to the common industry—agriculture—the school is the greatest mutual interest. Besides doing what it is specifically directed to do—interpret to children their inheritances—the school may react as a unifying agent through the school library, the annual meeting, the course of study, the social activities of the pupils, coöperation between school and home, through being the leader in, or at least the host for, the intellectual and æsthetic community meetings and through sympathetic, voluntary, competent and unostentatious promotion of the best things by the teacher.

The chief elements of efficiency in the rural schools are: first, individual objective in instruction; second, simple and natural stimulations; third, the inter-action of all grades and ages;

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[1] Adapted from a circular letter issued by United States Bureau of Education.

[2] Adapted from Rural School Efficiency in Kalamazoo County, Michigan, Bulletin No. 4, 1909, pp. 22-25. Published by State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing.

fourth, the constant, though not often consciously realized, tuition of nature.

The chief elements of efficiency now absent from the rural schools are: first, conscious integration of the work by teachers and pupils; second, the best physical and mechanical accessories; third, due appreciation of the value of education by many parents and pupils; fourth, adequately qualified and efficiently directed teachers.

The unexhausted resources of the rural schools are: first, an equalized and proportionate use of local and state funds; second, a comparatively well trained and experienced staff of teachers, well led and themselves capable of leadership; third, a consciously intelligent interpretation of nature; fourth, the impetus of awakened community consciousness.

The state cannot afford supinely or ignorantly to neglect fully to develop the unexhausted resources of the public schools. It is true that the rural schools are less well cared for to-day than the urban schools. It is historically true that the country bred citizen has been the nation's most valuable human asset. He has had a longer childhood and youth. He has come to maturity with a greater potential of nervous energy. He has, by constant association in work and play, absorbed the wisdom of the parent generation. Nature has had him largely to herself, and—

"Whenever the way seemed long,
Or his heart began to fail,
She sang a more wonderful song,
And told a more marvelous tale."

President Roosevelt said, "The small farm worked by the owner has been the best place to breed leaders for both city and country."

The conservation of that wholesome country life which produces the greatest human excellence, is the first public consideration. The rural school is the most peculiarly public institution in country life. It is the shortest cut to planned public participation in rural progress. The rural school teacher is the largest factor in the problem. The teacher is the publicly appointed executive partner of the parent generation, of nature, and of God. The small community integrates the elemental sources of life. It is, therefore, an oasis capable of producing the richest human fruitage. Selected fertilization, industrial, educational, social, political and spiritual, is the supreme need. Equipped and inspired leaders incarnate and communicate selected fertilization. The state may, if she will, put such leaders into the life of every rural community.

The four inequalities in the state's provision for the intellectual uprearing of her youth are:

1. The collection and use of the public funds.
2. The agencies instituted for the qualification of publicly employed teachers.
3. The supervisory control of the schools.
4. The years of instruction offered at public expense.

Two groups of questions immediately suggest themselves to the student of rural schools:

First group—

1. To what extent are these inequalities due to defects in the statutes?
2. What amendments are necessary?

Second group—

1. What inequalities are not due to defects in the statutes?
2. How may these be reached and remedied?

The answers to these questions, which the facts presented in this report suggest, are:

First group—

1. Inequalities
    - (a) in the collection and use of the public funds,
    - (b) in supervision,
    - (c) in the years of free public instruction,

   are due to inadequate statutory provisions.
2. The amendments suggested are—
    - (a) the enlargement of the area unit for taxation purposes from an ungraded district to a township; this not necessarily to involve the centralization of the schools, ample provision for which, when desired, has already been made;
    - (b) the provision of sufficient means for securing efficient supervisory direction of all the schools;

(c) the extension of the privilege of free secondary instruction to pupils in schools not giving such instruction, through the payment of tuition and transportation by the township.

Second group—

1. Inequalities in the qualification of publicly employed teachers are human considerations largely not subject to legal control.

However, there is at present a very noticeable difference in the preparation by the state of teachers for ungraded rural schools and graded urban schools. This condition is not due to defective statutes. It is due largely to an interpretation of the statutes which has permitted a concentration of the state's appropriations for teacher training, more than five-thirteenths of which has been paid by rural ungraded districts, upon the preparation of teachers for graded urban schools.

2. This condition has come into public attention and in recent years a redirection of part of the normal school activities to the service of the ungraded rural schools has begun in a small way to make good to these schools the accumulated loss of the years. Further attempts have been made to refund the rural communities that which has been taken from them by the state without practically any direct return, by the remitting of tuition in the normal schools to teachers preparing for country service and by the institution of the county normal training classes, largely supported by the state, for rural teachers.

REHABILITATING THE RURAL SCHOOL[1]

L. L. BERNARD

It is the contention of the present writer that the heart of the problem of functionalizing the rural school is the question of the curriculum. Therefore, in the following brief outline of changes most urgently needed to be wrought in the general organization of the rural school this change is placed first.

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[1] Adapted from "School and Society," Vol. IV, No. 100, p. 810–16, Nov. 25, 1916.

We must fall back upon the rural school as the only agency which fulfills all the fundamental conditions necessary to equip it for the work of educating the rural population up to the new requirements of country life in our day. The rural school, under proper conditions as to organization and curriculum, should be able to give this information most effectively to the largest number and in the shortest time. Therefore all reforms of the rural school should aim directly or indirectly at functionalizing its curriculum. The changes which might be immediately brought about in the rural school's course of study, without arousing unnecessary opposition or disturbance, are three in number.

1. Certain of the old and well established subjects, such as arithmetic, grammar (language study), biology (nature study), geography and physiology (sanitation and hygiene), should be brought down to practical and local application. Educational theory as applied to the rural community has already gone this far. It is only necessary to infuse the political state educational administrations with the knowledge of the desirability of this change to make it fairly effective, and there is some cause for encouragement in believing that this desired end may be attained even before politics is eradicated from these state educational administrations. Some text-books and teaching outlines looking in this direction have already been prepared in each of the subjects mentioned. The general effect of such a change would be to bring the formal instruction of many of the standard courses in the rural school into direct and functional contact with the techniques of the occupation of farming. Nor would any general or cultural educational values adhering to these subjects be lost, for the general underlying principles of knowledge in each would of course remain the same. Only the illustrative material would change.

2. The courses mentioned above can at their best be made to deal only with the techniques of production and sanitation. They can not be made to reach over into the constructive economic and social activities of country life.

At present there are no courses in the country school which perform this wide function, and such courses must be introduced. The knowledge for which there is now the most crying need in the rural community is that which will enable the farmer to understand the fundamentals of his business, social, institutional and civic life. The modern farmer, regardless of the size of his acres, must be a business man, whether he wishes it or not. He has at last been caught in the swirl of the industrial revolution with its emphasis upon division of labor and specialization; upon markets and credits; and above all upon science and efficiency. For the sake of greater productivity he has lost his self-sufficiency. A half-hearted teaching of agriculture has been added to the rural course of study, but the farmer has not learned to enter the markets to the best advantage nor to protect himself once the requirements of his occupation have brought him in. His institutions are largely outgrown survivals of pioneer conditions and have neither the organization nor the grasp necessary for adjusting him to modern life. They are largely inert and parasitic, not virile with the spirit of leadership. The governmental aspects of rural life are so little in the farmer's consciousness that he scarcely realizes that he has any such connections at all. Although the plan of organization of county and rural governments is not beyond the powers of comprehension of the most ordinary normal intellect, very few farmers who have no political ambitions for themselves really understand it. Government means to them national government, and no other group so complacently takes its political opinions ready made or so universally fails to take any opinion on matters of most intimate personal concern to it. Organization for independent political expression, especially on local matters, is extremely exceptional among farmers.

The explanation of such a wholesale abdication of the privileges of democratic control over his destiny can be explained only in terms of the farmer's lack of information regarding his broader social and economic needs and the techniques of organizing his interests effectively. The most hopeful proposition for meeting this need is to introduce just this subject-matter into the rural school curriculum. The time has arrived when we can no longer forbear to add courses of regular instruction in matters of such intimate concern to the farmer's welfare.

3. A third change in the rural school curriculum capable of accomplishing much good would be to make the school readers truly supplementary to the general purposes of education. The

reader should supplement the two types of instruction outlined above, but particularly the second, the more general economic, social and civic type of teaching. The readers should be distinctly supplementary, their general function being to stimulate interest in more intensive study and to give coloring and emotional content through personal instances and sidelights. Thus a description of coöperation in Denmark or of the work of Pastor Oberlin or the story of the founding of the John Swaney School could not but give the student an impetus to the discovery through his formal courses of the techniques for bringing about such changes in his own community.

One of the most frequent objections to proposals to expand the curriculum on its civic side is that there is not time for such a modified curriculum in the one-teacher rural school. That is true in essentials. It is also true that there is not time for the efficient teaching of any curriculum in a school consisting of eight grades and presided over by one teacher only. Where at all possible the old one-room school must go. It belongs to the age when farming was carried on by means of a single horse and a double shovel or a ''bull tongue'' plow and each family was a self-sufficing unit with but few and simple contacts with the outside world. This is the age of machine farming and it is also the age of efficiency in education. The consolidation movement is so well under way that it scarcely needs the support of argument; it is much more in need of guidance. There are three kinds of consolidation, and of these complete consolidation of enough districts to make the school really efficient and to provide high-school facilities is by far the best type where it is at all possible. This sort of consolidation involves transportation, which is at once the most expensive and the most combated feature of consolidation. But even transportation pays in the long run. Where complete consolidation with transportation does not appear to be feasible many districts are consolidating for high-school purposes and leaving the district schools intact for the elementary students. Such a policy seems of doubtful wisdom. While there is a saving due to the lack of community transportation, the cost in duplication and inefficiency probably overbalances the saving. The third type of consolidation is to be found where two or three or four districts unite, usually for fiscal rather than primarily for educational purposes. Such limited consolidation may be better than none, but it by no means approximates the ideal.

For one reason or another there will probably always be some isolated one-teacher schools. What can we do with these? Surely we must have a fairly uniform curriculum for country schools. Our revised course of study could probably be adapted to these schools quite as well as the present one is, especially if the great amount of dead matter which now exists in the rural school curriculum were eliminated. And the resulting benefits to the community should be much greater.

The best effects from such a change in curriculum can not be realized until the rural school is brought into closer contact with the adult members of the community. Already in certain isolated instances much has been done in the way of rural school extension, especially through agricultural club work, school fairs, coöperative instruction in farm practice and home economics on the farms and in the homes of patrons; and in some cases the schools have attempted to give some formal instruction to adults. The busy teacher of a one-room school is necessarily limited by lack of time, and possibly by her sex, in the amount that may be accomplished in these directions. Both these limitations may, however, be removed if the consolidated school and its extension work can be so expanded as to include not only agriculture and home economics, but also coöperative endeavor in the wider forms of social and civic interests.

Along with these more definitely educational modifications in the rural school should come certain administrative changes which we need only mention briefly here. The value of medical and dental inspection and supervision in rural schools is now conceded. It is one of the improvements which will soon come regardless of other changes here suggested. And there is also great need of better state and county administration, supervision and inspection of rural schools. Likewise our taxing system as at present applied to country schools does not secure anything like equality of educational opportunity. These and other problems are coming into the public consciousness.

But the heart of the rural school problem is that of the curriculum. For as it is, so will be in large degree the intellectual, civic and occupational outlook of the farmer of to-morrow. It should be repeated that without knowledge the farmer can not even understand his problems; much less will he be able to solve them. It is because of the crucial nature of this knowledge problem that the rural school is the determinative institution of rural life. If it fails the farmer all else must assuredly fail him.

THE COUNTY AS A UNIT OF ADMINISTRATION[1]

A. C. MONAHAN

We find four units of organization for the administration of the rural schools in the United States—the district, township, magisterial district, and county. The district, or the single district, as it is sometimes called, is the unit in twenty-one states and in parts of four others. The township is the unit in ten states and in parts of three others. The magisterial district is the unit in two. The county is the unit in eleven states and in part of one other.

On the whole, the county unit has most to commend it. The territory included in a county is usually small enough for a county board to keep in touch with the entire county, and it is large enough for school districts to be arranged to the best advantage, both for the convenience of the pupils and for economy in management and support. It is the unit of supervision in the great majority of states. For efficiency the supervision and administration must be closely united. This is possible in the best way only when the unit of supervision and the unit of organization are identical. Another consideration in favor of the county unit is the question of support. The county is now the unit in most states for the assessment and collection of taxes, the building and care of roads and bridges, and maintenance of criminal and civil courts. To make it the unit for school purposes would do away with local district taxes for education, equalize the tax rate for the county, and distribute the cost of the support of the schools over the entire county, so that equal educational opportunities would prevail throughout the county. It must be clearly recognized that education is a matter of concern not only to the local district but also to the county, and to the state and nation as well.

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[1] Adapted from "The Need of a County Unit," U. S. Bur. of Ed., Bulletin No. 30, 1913, pp. 52–54.

The ideal county system, judging from the most successful elements in various state systems where the county is the unit of organization, is probably as follows: The entire management and control of the schools of the county rests in the hands of a county board of education composed of three, six, or nine members, one-third of whom are elected by the voters of the county at each annual or biennial election. This insures a continuing board. The county board should have the selection of a county superintendent of schools, who becomes the agent of the board in the management of school affairs. In the administration of the course of study, however, the county superintendent should be independent of the county board, as that is a professional task which requires the expert judgment of a professionally trained man. The county superintendent should be a man who has had a good general education, professional education in psychology and pedagogy, and successful experience as a teacher. In the administration of the course of study his only responsibility should be to the state department of education.

The county superintendent should select all teachers for the county, final election being a prerogative of the county board.

The county board of education should divide the county into school districts, for convenience in locating schools and assigning pupils to the various buildings. In each district there should be a trustee or a board of trustees, either appointed by the county board or elected by the people of the district. This local board would have no absolute power, but would have the immediate oversight of the local school and act in a supervisory capacity to the county board in all affairs dealing with their school.

School funds should be assessed and expended on the county as a unit. If the county contains independent school districts, the school tax should be levied on all taxable property in the county including that in the city districts. The funds collected should be divided between the county as a whole and the independent districts, probably on the basis of school population. The basis of division would depend upon local conditions in each state. The independent city districts might raise further funds for the support of their schools, if they so desired. The school districts in the county might also raise an additional sum for the support of their school, although in the ideal system the county funds should be sufficient for all school purposes. It is essential that the county board of education have power to expend the county funds wherever they are most needed, regardless of the portion of the funds coming from any particular school district.

The average county in the United States is too large an area for adequate supervision of its rural schools by the county superintendent, unless enough assistance is furnished him so that the schools may be visited and the teachers assisted in their work at regular, frequent periods. In the eighteen larger cities in the United States in 1910 there was one supervisor for every nineteen teachers, devoting half or more than half of his time to supervising. Such close supervision is probably not necessary in the country schools. The county superintendent, however, should have at least one assistant devoting his entire time to supervising the instructional work of the schools for every thirty-five or forty teachers. Massachusetts and Oregon, both of which require all schools to be under expert supervision, have set the maximum as fifty country schools in each supervisory district; that is, fifty schools to one supervisor. In only a few cases, particularly in Massachusetts, do any supervisors have as many as fifty.

THE CHANGE FROM AMATEUR TO PROFESSIONAL TEACHING[1]

HAROLD W. FOGHT

THE change from amateur to professional teaching may be hastened in several ways: (1) Salaries should be increased enough so a teacher with family may live on his income without worrying how to make ends meet. Provision should also be made, by legal enactment, for a liberal sliding-scale salary, allowing the teacher's income to increase in direct ratio to length of service in the same community. This is only fair since teachers of the right sort will unquestionably grow in value to the community year by year. (2) The entire school plant should be reconstructed to answer present needs and be attractive and sanitary. This would be another inducement for the teacher to spend his best years in the open country. (3) The community should be obliged by legal enactment to erect a teacher's cottage close by the modern school building and preferably upon the same grounds. (4) Teachers' colleges, normal schools, and other schools with teacher-training classes should be encouraged to organize distinct departments in rural life and rural teaching, from which to draw teachers prepared and willing to undertake work in the new farm schools.

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[1] Adapted from "Efficiency and Preparation of Rural School Teachers," Bulletin 49 (1914), U. S. Bureau of Education.

THE RURAL HIGH SCHOOL[1]

GEORGE H. BETTS AND OTIS E. HALL

WILLINGNESS of the rural community to provide high school education for its youth is one of the first tests of its right to the loyalty of the young people. The four years of school privileges above the elementary grades now so generally available to urban children must be similarly open to country boys and girls, else we can not blame them for deserting the farms for the better educational opportunities afforded by the town. The high school must be free and must be accessible to the boys and girls of the farm.

The high school is not yet free to the majority of rural children, even if they are willing to go to town for their high school training. In many states the rural youth must himself pay a tuition of from three to five dollars a month if he attends the nearest town high school. His district disclaims all responsibility for his education after he completes the elementary school. Some states, as Iowa, for example, have recently provided that graduates of rural schools may attend the nearest high school, the district to pay the tuition fees. But in the Iowa law, reasonable as the demand on the district is, the liability is limited to three dollars and fifty cents a month, any amount in excess of this devolving on the pupil.

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[1] Adapted from "Better Rural Schools," pp. 258–262. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1914.

But even where the rural district freely pays the tuition in the town high school, such a situation is far from satisfactory. The high school training afforded rural children should be in rural high schools and not in town and city schools. Not only in curriculum but in spirit and in teaching, the rural high school should represent the life and activities of the farm. If the rural high school is to maintain an adequate standard of efficiency, if it is to serve its patronage aright, it must take into its program of studies training in the concrete affairs awaiting its graduates. There are at present more than two thousand public and private high schools in the United States teaching agriculture, but comparatively few of these have actual country environment, most of them being situated in towns and cities. Such is also true of the more than one hundred special agricultural schools of secondary grade located in seventeen different states. While the agricultural courses taught in the city school are valuable as educational material and well worth while from the standpoint of general culture and development, yet of necessity they lack the vitality and concreteness possessed by similar courses taught with an immediate environment of farm life and conditions. In the reorganization of rural education that is now going on, therefore, there must be definite provision for the installation of high schools as a part of the rural system.

The rural high school is a natural outgrowth of the movement toward consolidation. It need hardly be argued that the one-room school can never support a high school course, nor ought it under any circumstances to undertake the teaching of high school branches, except in rare instances where a number of the elementary grades are lacking from want of younger children in attendance. It has been almost uniformly found that the consolidating of a number of elementary schools into one school has brought about a demand for the introduction of high school subjects. Hence a large majority of the fully consolidated schools are now offering two or even four years of high-school work. Not a few of the consolidated rural schools in Indiana, Ohio and many other states, are fully equal in the scope and character of the curriculum and in the quality of teaching to the best town and city schools. The rural high schools in such communities are recognized by the colleges and universities, and their graduates are accepted on the same terms as those from urban schools.

It may therefore be concluded that the policy of consolidation ultimately commits to the introduction of rural high schools as a part of the system. This is natural and right, since consolidation not only encourages the regularity of attendance that allows completion of an elementary course preparatory to the high school, but also provides the type of curriculum and teaching necessary for such preparation. Further, the educational standards of communities supporting consolidated schools demand opportunities for high school education for their children.

Certain regions, as in Illinois, have developed the township system of high schools independently of consolidation. Many of these township secondary schools are of high grade, fully the equal of town and city schools; indeed, not a few of them are conducted in some convenient town or city of the township and are in effect not rural high schools at all. They offer the traditional high school course of study, are governed by the typical urban high school spirit, which looks not toward farming but to other lines of occupation, and are therefore not the type of secondary education most useful to rural communities.

In other sections of the country, county high schools prevail, the county supporting one secondary school open to all qualified residents within the county. The county high school can be approved only as a temporary expedient to supply secondary education at a time when the economic ability is not equal to the burden of supporting high schools available to every community. In order to be wholly efficient, the high school must, like the elementary school, be brought to the door of those for whom it is intended—and must not require traveling half-way across a county in order to obtain its advantages. Nor must it demand that the pupil leave his home and enter the school as a boarding-school. To be truly a school of the people the rural high school must be connected with the rural elementary school, which is equivalent to saying that it will become a part of the consolidated school of the future.

THE SPREAD OF THE SCHOOL MANSE IDEA[1]

GEORGE E. VINCENT

THE older countries of Europe have long recognized that the proper housing of teachers is as much a duty of school authorities as the provision of class rooms, laboratories and gymnasia. In Denmark every rural school has its teachers' house with kitchen garden and flower garden. The schoolmaster and his assistants live on the school grounds. The institution is not a place deserted for all but a few hours in the day; it is rather a permanent residence of community leaders. Little wonder that the Denmark schoolmaster holds his place year after year. It is not unusual for a principal to devote his whole life to one or two communities. Throughout Germany practically the same system prevails with the same results in educational efficiency and community leadership. In France every rural teacher is provided at public expense with living quarters. The same system is well established and is spreading in Sweden, Norway and Finland.

In various parts of the United States significant experiments in providing houses for teachers have been made. In Hawaii one-third of the schools have cottages built at public expense. In the state of Washington notable progress has been made in furnishing living quarters for teachers. North Dakota has twenty-two schools equipped in this way. Mississippi, North Carolina, Illinois, Tennessee and Oklahoma have made promising experiments. In St. Louis County, Minnesota, twenty-five rural school teachers live, in groups of two and three, in cottages built and completely furnished at public expense.

A teachers' house or school manse is peculiarly necessary to the success of the consolidated rural school which, it is now agreed, is to be the typical country school of the future. There should be built, in connection with the consolidated school on the same grounds with the school building and heated by the same plant, a permanent house for the use of the teaching staff. This building should contain a wholly separate apartment for the principal and his family, living room and bed-rooms for the women teachers, laundry, kitchens, etc. It should be equipped with a view to providing in the community a model of tasteful and economical domestic furnishing and decoration. The rentals and other charges should be so regulated as to provide for the maintenance, insurance, repairs and renewals of equipment, but not for a sinking-fund. The house should be regarded as a part of the school plant and included in the regular bond issue for construction. A privately owned manse in Illinois is netting 8 per cent. on an investment of $10,000.

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[1] Adapted from *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 67: 167–169, 1916.

The manse has a bearing in several ways upon the educational work of the school. Flowers and vegetable gardens are natural features of school premises which are also residence quarters. The domestic science work of the school can be connected in valuable ways with the practical problems of manse management. The cost accounting offers a capital example of bookkeeping. The use of the school as a community center is widened and its value enhanced. The school as an institution takes on a more vital character in the eyes of the countryside.

Most important of all is the effect upon the teacher. Comfortably heated, well-lighted quarters, comradeship with colleagues—and at the same time personal privacy—a satisfying, coöperatively managed table, independence of the petty family rivalries of a small community, a recognized institutional status, combine to attract to the consolidated rural school manse teachers of a type which will put the country school abreast of the modern educational movement. It is futile to preach the gospel of sacrifice for the cause of rural education. There is no reason why rural teachers should be called upon to sacrifice themselves. They ought not to do it, and they will not do it. The school manse is not a fad, nor a luxury; it is a fundamental necessity.

AGRICULTURE AND THE CURRICULUM[1]

EVELYN DEWEY

Most states are now recognizing the necessity for making some effort to promote agricultural stability through the schools.

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[1] Adapted from "New Schools for Old," pp. 252–259. Dutton, N. Y., 1919.

Since the exodus from farms begins with the young people, legislatures realize that influences which will affect children directly may result in checking that exodus. They also see that regions where farmers are poor and farm methods backward are the most seriously depleted by cityward migration. It is natural then to think that equipping the children to earn more money on the farm will tend to keep them there. Therefore, they say country schools ought to teach agriculture; and they pass laws making so many hours of study of the subject obligatory during the school year. They are not teachers and it is not their affair to say how it shall be taught; this important detail is left to the state educational administrators. They in turn find themselves confronted with the duty of laying out a course of study which shall fill up the required number of hours, adopting text-books for the pupils' use and telling every teacher what lessons they shall give, regardless of varying agricultural conditions in the state. If the farmers in the legislature are skeptical of the results of this method of attack, they are still glad to have any attention paid to their profession, and they are usually so vague as to a better way of dealing with the problem that they gladly give their support to such bills. Every country teacher knows the futility of simply going through the required lessons in the agricultural text-book, in order to make better farmers or keep children on the farm. The prejudice against book farming is very general in farming regions. This fact alone discounts most of the knowledge that pupils might gain from their lessons. Besides this, the same text-book is used for a whole state, regardless of the particular conditions of soil, climate, markets, etc.; so that it is entirely a matter of chance if the information has any application to the agricultural needs of a particular district. A visitor asked the teacher in a typical one-room school if she taught any agriculture or gardening; the reply was: "No, we are not able to manage any at all." Later the teacher returned to the subject, saying: "Of course we use the lessons in agriculture prescribed in the state curriculum." This indicates the value the teachers themselves attach to this type of agricultural teaching if it is not vitalized by the addition of practical work adapted to local conditions.

Even if it were desirable to teach grade pupils trades, farming does not lend itself to the usual state curriculum, or to any prescribed methods. It is a profession, not a mechanical trade where practice in routine acts brings skill, and one set of facts illustrates all its principles. Young children may be able to understand these general principles, but reciting long prescriptions for soil treatment under theoretical conditions for crops they have never seen, has no bearing whatever on their future as farmers, and hinders their education as it takes time which might be spent in worth-while work.

If there is nothing educational in abstract lessons in agriculture, engaging in agriculture with an open mind is an education in itself. City and country teachers alike are agreed in testifying to the value of real work in gardens for children of all ages. The work is valuable because through it the children learn so much about the commonest things about them, plants, earth, water and sunshine, not because it teaches them processes which will enable them to earn more money when they grow up. The teaching method which looks to the environment of the child to furnish most of the class-room material makes the teaching of agriculture a necessity. When children learn to understand the things around them and learn the possibilities and relationships of the local environment, there is no danger of training mere technicians, who are capable only of mechanical work, nor yet of developing abstract theorists, whose contact with life is confined to books and ideas.

Using the world for a text-book insures the children's being fitted to live in that world efficiently. Since the modern world even in a simple farming district is much too complicated to give one person a grasp of all its phases, the important thing in education is to give every person a good working point of view towards life. Mrs. Harvey believes that there are two essential sides to this point of view, and that it is equally important that pupils acquire them both in their school life. The first is sufficient practical knowledge of the industrial and economic life about them from the side of its underlying principles to insure their being able as adults to control their material environment, not to be at its mercy. This work should always be taught with scientific principles and social relationships in mind; because it is no part of the duty of the public schools of a democracy to give trade training. It is their duty to teach so that every one can approach a trade with general skill and critical faculties developed so that he can learn the trade as a whole, not simply one process of it. This involves for a school in an agricultural community, not only theory and practice in gardening and farming, but general book work which will enable the pupil to understand the business aspects of farming, its place in national life, markets, buying and selling; the relations of the farmer to the rest of the world.

The other side to this point of view is the understanding of the rest of the things in life, which is just as important in a democracy as the ability to earn a living. Every child should have a chance to learn how to think for himself; how to understand national and social aims, how to appreciate beauty and wholesome pleasure, how to be healthy, self-reliant and courageous, and how to find out things for himself. Real work presented in the right way promotes both these phases of efficient social equipment. It no longer becomes necessary to argue the advantages of vocational versus cultural teaching; the teacher can devote her entire time to giving her pupils an education. No demonstration is necessary to prove the place of agriculture in the curriculum of a school which sets out to educate farm children. It belongs there just as much as an adjustment of the program to the climate, or of the seating capacity to the number of pupils.

The results of a curriculum made up and starting from the child's environment are sure to be both vocational and cultural. The difference between teaching a trade in school and using the prevailing industrial conditions for education, can be demonstrated by a description of Mrs. Harvey's methods of using agriculture in the curriculum of Porter, better than by a more theoretical discussion. From the very first she saw that the children could be brought up to adopt the best farm methods as a matter of course, if their intelligence could be enlisted at the outset. She selected the vegetable and flower gardens as the best point of attack for the school. Owing to conditions in the corn belt little attention has been paid to the garden on the individual farms. The farmer, busy with the planting, cultivation and harvesting of the larger crops, had come to feel that he could spare no time for the garden. The work of gardening fell to the lot of the already overworked woman. Usually, therefore, the plot cultivated was small and the vegetables were few and insufficient in variety and quantity. By enlisting the children in garden work several purposes were served. The garden serves as a laboratory for teaching the fundamental principles of agriculture. The children find a healthy summer occupation, and those who are too young for the heavier farm work are unconsciously acquiring knowledge and skill which is certain to make farm life attractive and satisfying to them eventually while it gives them an immediate consciousness of and pride in adding to the family comfort and in saving "mother's" strength.

School gardening can be made a valuable adjunct to country schools in the corn belt because of its educative value to the child and its effect upon the community as well. In truck growing regions some other form of agricultural work should be employed because children are pressed into service at home so young that gardens lose their educational value. In using the environment, emphasis must always be put upon the principles involved and immediate things should be used as stepping stones to more remote things. The gardening work was in no sense supposed to react immediately upon family incomes by producing vegetables that could be sold; but was expected to react indirectly through the added understanding of agricultural principles and through a raised standard of living. Through the school garden the child at an age when he is forming tastes and habits for life can learn all the fundamentals of farming in which he is expected to take an interest later on.

THE MOONLIGHT SCHOOLS OF KENTUCKY[1]

CORA WILSON STEWART

The various impressions which have prevailed throughout the country in regard to moonlight schools have been amusing indeed. Some have imagined them to be schools where children studied and played and scampered on the green like fairies in the moonlight. Others have believed them to be ideal courting schools, where lovers strolled arm in arm, quoted poetry, and told the old, old story by the light of a bewitching moon. Others have speculated upon their being schools where moonshiners, youthful and aged, were instructed in the most scientific methods of extracting the juice from the corn, and, at the same time, the most secretive, to prevent government interference.

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[1] Adapted from *Survey*, Vol. 35: 429–31, Jan., 1916.

When I was superintendent of Rowan county (Kentucky) schools, I served as secretary to a number of illiterate folk—a mistaken kindness. I ought to have been teaching them to read and write. Among these folk was a woman whose children had grown up without education, except one daughter, who had had limited schooling. She had gone to Chicago, and there had profited by that one advantage at least which the city possesses over the rural district, the night school. Her letters were the only source of joy that came into that aged mother's life, and the drafts which they contained were the only means of relieving her necessities.

Often she brought the daughter's letters over the hill, seven miles, to the county seat, for me to read and answer for her. After an absence of some six weeks, she came in one morning fondling a letter. I anticipated her mission, and said: "A letter from your daughter? Shall I read and answer it for you?"

With dignity and pride, she replied: "I kin answer it fer myself—I've larned to read and write."

In amazement I questioned her, and this is the story she told: "Sometimes I couldn't get over here to see you and the 'cricks' would be up between me and the neighbors, or the neighbors would be away from home, and I could not get a letter read and answered for three or four days; and, anyway, it jist seemed like thar wuz a wall 'twixt Jane and me all the time, and I wanted to read with my own eyes what she had writ with her own hand. So I went to a store and I bought me a speller, and I sot up at nights till midnight, and sometimes till daylight—and I learned to read and write."

And to demonstrate her accomplishment, she slowly spelled out the words of that precious letter, and she sat down and, under my direction, answered it—wrote her first letter, an achievement which pleased her immeasurably, and one which must have pleased the absent Jane still more.

Shortly after this, there came into my office one morning a middle-aged man, handsome and intelligent in appearance. While waiting for me to dispatch the business in hand, I gave him two books. He fingered the leaves hurriedly, like a child, turned the books over and looked at the backs, and laid them down with a sigh. Knowing the scarcity of interesting reading through the country, I proffered him the loan of these two books. He shook his head, and said: ''No, I cannot read or write.'' And then the tears came into the eyes of that stalwart man, and he added: ''I would give twenty years of my life if I could.''

A few evenings later I attended an entertainment in a rural district school. A stalwart lad of twenty sang a beautiful ballad, mostly original, but partly borrowed from his English ancestors. When he finished, amid deafening applause, I went over and congratulated him. ''Dennis, that was a beautiful ballad—it is worthy of publication. Will you write it down for me?'' ''I would if I could write,'' he replied, crestfallen, ''but I cannot. I've thought of a hundred of 'em better'n that, but I'd forget 'em before anybody came along to set 'em down.''

These three incidents led directly to the establishment of the moonlight schools. Not merely the call of three individuals was sounded, but the appeal of three classes: illiterate mothers separated from their absent children farther than sea or land or any other condition than death; middle-aged men shut out from the world of books and unable to cast their ballot with intelligence and in secrecy and security; young people who possess undeveloped talents which might yet be made to contribute much to the world of literature, art, science or invention.

The public school teachers of the county were called together. These specific incidents were related to them, and the fact that there were 1,152 such men and women whom the schools of the past had left behind was dwelt upon. The teachers were asked to volunteer for night service, to open their schools on moonlight evenings—to give these people a chance.

This they cheerfully agreed to do, and on Labor Day, September 4, 1911, these teachers celebrated by visiting every farmhouse and every hovel, inviting people of all classes to attend the moonlight schools which were to open their sessions the next evening. They expected some response and hoped for from one to three pupils in attendance at each school—perhaps one hundred and fifty the county over.

These country folk had all the excuses that any toil-worn people ever had. There were rugged roads to travel, high hills to climb, streams without bridges to cross, children to lead, and babes to carry; but they were not seeking excuses, they were seeking knowledge. And so they came. They came, some singly and alone; they came hurrying in groups; they came traveling for miles; they came carrying babes in arms; they came bent with age and leaning on canes; they came 1,200 strong.

The youngest student was eighteen, and the oldest eighty-six. Some learned to write their names the first evening, and some required two evenings for this feat. Their joy in this achievement, simple though it was, is beyond the power of pen to describe. They wrote their names on trees, fences, posts, barns, barrel-staves, and every available scrap of paper. Those who possessed even meager means drew it out of hiding and deposited it in bank, writing their checks and signing their names with childish pride. Letters soon began to go to loved ones in other counties and far distant states.

Usually the first of these letters came to the office of the county superintendent. Romantic in the history of this movement is the fact that the first three letters written from the moonlight schools came in this order: the first from a mother who had children absent in the West; the second from the man who had said he would give twenty years of his life if he could read and write, and the third from the boy who would forget his ballads before anybody came along to set them down.

Educators were skeptical of the plan, and freely predicted that after the novelty had worn off, the interest would wane. But in the second session, the first year's record was surpassed in every particular: 1,600 were enrolled, 350 learned to read and write, and a man eighty-seven years old entered and put to shame the record of the proud "school-girl" of eighty-six of the year before.

There were many incidents of really remarkable individual development. A man who had labored for years at $1.50 a day enrolled, specializing in mathematics—in that particular branch in which he was interested, lumbering. At the end of the six-weeks' session he was promoted at a salary double that which he had received before. It was not unusual in traveling over the county to find in the day schools here and there, after the moonlight schools had closed, a man or a woman seated at the desk with a child.

In March, 1913, the teachers of Rowan county met in the office of the county superintendent and declared their determination to wipe illiteracy out of that county that year. First, the school trustees were induced to take a census of the illiterates. When this was completed, an illiteracy record was made. On the record was not only the name and the age of every illiterate in the county, but his history as well: his home environment, family ties, religious faith, political belief, weaknesses, tastes and peculiarities, and the influence or combination of influences through which he might be reached in case the teacher failed with him.

Each teacher was given a list of the illiterates in her district when she opened her day school. She called on these people and cultivated their acquaintance before the moonlight schools began their sessions. The home department of the moonlight schools was established that year, in which the indifferent, the disinclined, the stubborn and the decrepit were taught by the teacher or by some one under the teacher's direction at home. "One for every one," was the slogan which brought into service doctors, who could teach their convalescent patients; ministers who might find a pupil among the members of their flocks; stenographers who could interest waitresses in the small-town hotels, and any others who would seek and teach a pupil. Each district was striving to be the first to completely stamp out illiteracy.

We tried, by every means, fair and foul, to get illiteracy out of the county to the last individual. At the close of the third session, we had but a straggling few who could not read and write—twenty-three in all, mainly defectives, invalids and the blind.

Meanwhile, the moonlight schools had been extended to twenty-five other counties in the state, and whether it was in distillery section or among the tenant class, or in mining region or among the farmers, it was ever with the same results. Men and women thronged to the schools, striving to make up for the time they had lost, and they pleaded for a longer term when the session closed.

The Governor of Kentucky, seeing the determined warfare which was being waged against illiteracy, urged in his message to the legislature that an Illiteracy Commission be created to drive illiteracy from the state. The measure creating this commission passed the legislature of 1914 without a dissenting vote, and the seat of the war against illiteracy in Kentucky was transferred from the Court House in the county seat of Rowan to the state capitol at Frankfort. The commission is directing the state-wide campaign to remove illiteracy from Kentucky by the time the census of 1920 is taken.

One of the first activities of the Illiteracy Commission was to enlist the various organizations in the state to aid the teachers in their warfare on illiteracy. The Kentucky Educational Association was induced to pass a resolution expressing commendation and pledging its support. The Kentucky Press Association was approached for assistance, which was cheerfully given. The Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, the Society of Colonial Dames, and other organizations, were among those to early lend their aid.

Governor James B. McCreery of Kentucky issued, in September, 1914, the first proclamation against illiteracy in the history of the world, urging all classes to join in the fight. Again, in 1915, he issued a similar proclamation. Kentucky has celebrated "no illiteracy" Sunday in October, for the past two successive years. A galaxy of one hundred and twenty speakers covered the state during the summer of 1915, condemning the evils of illiteracy and advocating moonlight schools as a remedy. These speakers consisted of the governor, state officials, United States senators, congressmen, judges of the court of appeals, circuit judges, prominent educators and club women.

Moonlight school graduates have been asked to volunteer to teach at least one to read and write. Individuals and organizations have offered prizes to stimulate teachers in their moonlight schoolwork. A teacher who has taught sixty-two illiterates during a session this year believes that he is very close to the $100 state prize. Yet he, like thousands of other volunteer teachers, trudges back to the school at night with no thought of reward, save that of the joy of service and the emancipation of those enslaved in the bondage of illiteracy.

Kentucky will owe her public school teachers a debt that can never be estimated when they shall have wiped out her illiteracy, which they propose to do by 1920, and in many counties will do even before that time. That county in the state which has the largest percentage of illiteracy has taught 1,000 persons in the moonlight schools this year to read and write, while many counties have taught two and three hundred, besides raising the standard of education of many semi-illiterates and others who have enrolled.

The moonlight school curriculum embraces more than reading and writing: It includes arithmetic, history, geography, civics, agriculture, horticulture, home economics and road building. A special method of writing is taught—a moonlight school tablet, with indented letters for acquiring the form, and ruled sheets with wide spaces, designed especially for adult pupils. Readers have also been prepared for such beginners, dealing with roads, silos, seed-testing, crop rotation, piping water into the house, value of the daily bath, extermination of the fly, ways of cooking, and such problems as the people are facing every day. For example, a lesson on roads reads:

> This is a road.
> It is a good road.
> It will save my time.
> It will save my team.
> It will save my wagon.
> The good road is my friend.
> I will work for the good road.

The script lessons follows: "I will work for the good road," which pledge the student writes ten times, and if the law of suggestion works, he becomes truly a friend and promoter of good roads.

Moonlight schools are conducted in seventeen states, Oklahoma, Alabama and North Carolina following closely Kentucky's lead. These schools minister equally to illiterate Indians in

Oklahoma, illiterate negroes in Alabama, and illiterate whites in North Carolina and other states. California and New Mexico, the last states to adopt the institution, are finding it useful in the education of the immigrant population of the one, and the large Mexican population of the other.

There are 5,516,163 illiterates in this country, according to the federal census of 1910—more than the entire population of Denmark, also more than the population of Sweden or Norway, and of several other prosperous countries. Some countries thrive, support churches, schools and industries on the number of people that America is permitting to go to waste. Illiteracy in the United States is largely a rural problem; it exists in rural districts in double the proportion found in urban communities. Until the moonlight school was established, there was absolutely no provision for the education of illiterate adults in rural sections, and there is none in urban districts now, save the city night school, which receives illiterate foreigners, but in most cities, at least, does not coax or compel them to attend.

It is the privilege of American public school teachers to wipe out America's illiteracy. Back to the school-house twenty to twenty-four evenings, and, with proper organization, the deed is done; for experience has proved that all but abnormal adults can escape from illiteracy in a month's time, and some in even less.

Could there be more valiant and heroic service to humanity than the stamping out of illiteracy, the most insidious foe of the nation?

A NATIONAL PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION[1]

(A statement issued by the National Education Association Commission on the emergency in education and the program for readjustment during and after the war.)

The time has clearly come when we in America must think and plan for education on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the task that lies before us and in terms consistent with the obligations that the coming generations will be called upon to discharge. Heretofore our educational policies have been confined and cramped by the narrow boundaries of our local units of school taxation and control. Our conception of education has been essentially a neighborhood conception. This principle of local responsibility for the support and control of schools has undeniable elements of strength. It is an expression of that will to independence, self-reliance, and individual initiative which constitutes so striking a quality of American democracy. It must not and need not be sacrificed. But while the interests of the local community must still be the determining factor in school organization and administration, events are rapidly teaching us that our local interests are genuine interests only when framed in harmony with our national needs and our international obligations and responsibilities.

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[1] Adapted from Commission Series No. 1, pp. 10–20; National Education Association, Washington, D. C., June, 1918.

There can, then, be no fundamental antagonism between local and national needs. There are certain phases of public education with which the federal government may properly concern itself to the immediate and permanent advantage of the schools, and with an effect upon local initiative and local control that will be stimulating and salutary. Indeed, the outstanding weaknesses and inequities of our public schools to-day are such as to make their reform on a national scale impossible without federal coöperation, and here as elsewhere in a true democracy it is to coöperation and not to domination that we must look for the solution of our problems.

It is futile to speak of our public schools as the bulwark of American democracy when tens of thousands of the teachers in these schools are only sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen years old; when more than one hundred thousand are less than twenty-two years old; when more than a quarter of a million have not passed the age of twenty-five.

There are no fewer than five million children in the United States to-day whose teachers have not passed the age of twenty-one, and whose teachers have themselves had as preparation for their responsible work not more than one, two, or rarely three or four years of education beyond the eighth grade of the common schools. Every six or seven years these five million children are replaced by another group equally numerous, subject to the same limited opportunities for instruction and guidance. In the course of a single generation, these groups now aggregating twenty million men and women will be among the voting citizens of the nation. The intelligence that directs their skill and industry will be an important factor in determining the nation's wealth. The ideas and ideals which were impressed upon them in school will form the background against which they will interpret and evaluate the nation's policies. Their judgment, guiding their votes, may make or mar the nation's destiny.

It is in the little schools of the villages and the rural districts that the youngest, most experienced, and least well-trained teachers are to be found. Little schools they are individually, but large in the aggregate and big with national significance, for in them more than one-half of the nation's children are enrolled. And of all phases of the teaching service that which is represented by these rural and village schools is the most exacting, the most arduous, and in many ways the most responsible. While the teacher of the graded city school instructs a single group of children approximately equal in age and attainment, the rural teacher must cover a wide range of subjects with many groups, adapting himself, a score of times each day, to the varying levels of growth and attainment. While the city teacher is helped by expert principals and supervisors, the rural teacher is all but absolutely isolated, and must supply through his own initiative, enthusiasm, and resourcefulness many of the elements of good teaching that one working in an urban community gains through contact with his fellows.

And yet the environment of these small and isolated schools is in many ways the best that could be provided for the education of boys and girls. The equipment of libraries, shops, and laboratories may be lacking, but potential resources in abundance lie round about. What is needed is the mind to interpret them and translate their lessons. But this is the hardest kind of teaching, far harder than to assign lessons in books and hear recitations. It is a kind of teaching that requires knowledge, insight, and skill to be obtained only through a broad and thorough training followed by a faithful and carefully supervised apprenticeship.

Nor does this tell the whole story of the possibilities and difficulties of rural-school teaching. The right man or the right woman in this office may become a real leader in the community, knowing its people intimately and sympathetically. Under his or her tactful direction, the schoolhouse may become a true community center, enriching the social life with a round of wholesome activities. It would be hard indeed to overestimate what two hundred thousand mature, well trained, and permanently employed teachers in these small schools would mean both to rural America and to the nation as a whole. They could do for America and American democracy what the village dominies have done for Scotland and what the rural schoolmasters have done for Denmark and Norway. They could make these lonely outposts of culture what they should be, strategic centers of national strength and national idealism—for outposts though they may be in one sense, in another and a deeper sense these little schools, of all our educational institutions, are closest to what is formative and virile and abiding in our national life.

The urban centers are not wholly blameless for this neglect of the rural school. They have required in general higher standards of maturity and preparation for their teachers, but they have fallen far short of recognizing public-school service as a worthy profession or of setting a standard of recognition and rewards that might well have had a stimulating effect upon the outlying rural districts. By limiting its teaching-appointments especially in the elementary schools to young women living with their parents in the home community, the typical American city has been able to recruit its teachers at the smallest possible wage. The effect of this upon the development of a true professional spirit among the teachers can be readily conjectured. It has kept the standards of professional preparation deplorably low, it has encouraged young women to enter the work of teaching merely as a temporary occupation, and in many cases it has led the public to look upon teaching-appointments, not as positions of trust and honor, but as jobs to be distributed, either to the deserving poor or to those who can enlist ''influence'' in their behalf.

Again it is beside the point to say that there are communities that have risen far beyond this primitive estimate of the teacher's work. There are many such communities, it is true, but their influence again has been local and circumscribed. It has not sufficed to raise the general level of the teacher's calling. It is not, indeed, through individual and local advances that the nation's problem is to be solved.

There is, in fact, but one way in which the evils that are inherent in the transient and unprofessional character of the general teaching population can be remedied, and that is the creation of conditions that will make teaching throughout the length and breadth of the land, a permanent occupation, a real career. Larger appropriations for teachers' salaries are needed, and in view of the alarming shortage in the supply of teachers and the decreasing attendance upon the normal schools, such appropriations should certainly be made at once if a situation worse than that which exists to-day is to be avoided. But higher salaries alone will not solve the problem. What is needed at basis is a different conception of the teacher's work, and what is needed first of all is an adequate appreciation of the importance of a thoroughgoing preparation for its responsibilities.

It cannot be a source of pride to our people that the United States gives less attention to the training of teachers than does any other great nation. It cannot be a matter of pride to our people that, of all our professional institutions, those who have been intrusted with the preparation of teachers for the public schools are the most penuriously supported and the least attractive to ambitious youth.

Nor can these normal schools with their inadequate support supply more than a fraction of the teachers annually needed for the public schools. Their total output each year is scarcely enough for the needs of the urban communities, leaving the rural and village schools almost entirely dependent upon untrained recruits. In a typical state—a state that is perhaps midway between the most progressive and the most backward educationally—80 per cent. of the rural-school teachers this year are boys and girls fresh from the eighth grade of the common schools—and even under these inadequate standards this state reports a shortage in teachers, so keen is the demand for their services in other occupations.

For the national government generously to coöperate with the states, first in meeting the emergency which is drawing so many teachers away from the schools, and then in supporting institutions and agencies for the preparation of competent teachers, would be to raise at once the status of the teaching profession and thereby enhance the efficiency of the schools throughout the land. Without encroaching upon the autonomy of the several states, such coöperation would recognize in a most effective way the dependence of the nation's welfare upon the public schools and the significance of the teacher's service to the nation's life.

The country child to-day is at a distinct disadvantage educationally as compared with the city child. Not only are his teachers immature, transient, and untrained, but his term of schooling in the average of cases is from one to three months shorter each year, and from two to three years shorter in its entirety. Attendance laws are often laxly enforced or not enforced at all. The expert supervision, which could do something to offset the immaturity and lack of training upon the part of the teachers, is practically non-existent. The course of study is ill-adjusted to the needs of rural life.

For fifty years and more the difficulties of the rural school situation have constituted the most serious and perplexing problem of American education. During all of these years courageous efforts have been made throughout the country to find a solution of this problem. While these efforts have enlisted the service of hundreds of competent and devoted leaders, they cannot be said as yet to have done more than touch the surface. When one remembers that one-half of the nation's children are enrolled in the rural and village schools it is not difficult to understand why the largest advances have been at best only local and sporadic. The problem is of too vast a magnitude to be affected fundamentally by anything short of a great national movement. The time for that movement has clearly come.

At basis the difficulty is economic and social rather than educational. If the country child is to have opportunities for schooling equivalent to those provided for the city child, proportionately more money must be spent on the country schools than on the city schools. The one-room, ungraded schools are small schools, and the ratio of teachers to pupils is necessarily high. The consolidation of the one-room schools will reduce this ratio and make for economy; but consolidation is impossible in some districts, and even where it is practicable, the consolidated school, pupil for pupil, will always be more expensive to operate than the city school. Not only must the cost of transportation be met, but expert teachers for these schools must be paid higher salaries than are demanded by teachers of the same ability and training in the city schools. Indeed, in the few states where a consistent effort has been made to furnish the country child with teachers as well qualified as those in the city schools, it has been found necessary to increase the rural teachers' salaries from 10 to 20 per cent. above the city level.

As long as schools are supported entirely or almost entirely by local taxation, then, it is clear that the country child cannot have the educational advantages of the city child. The per capita wealth of the rural districts, taking the country as a whole, is very far below the per capita wealth of the urban districts. School funds raised by general state taxation and distributed to the local communities in proportion to their educational needs have done something to reduce these inequalities, but except in a very few cases the state funds are so meager that their influence is almost negligible.

It is again the narrow neighborhood conception of educational responsibility that has stood squarely in the way of progress. In general, each local community has been educationally self-sufficient. The American people have accepted the principle that it is just and equitable to tax individuals in proportion to their wealth for the education of all the children of the community. They have not as yet followed the course of reasoning to its logical conclusion. They have not thoroughly accepted the equally sound principle that it is just and equitable to tax communities in proportion to their wealth for the education of all the children of the state.

Combined with the neighborhood conception of educational responsibility as a handicap to progress is a tendency still to think of the public school as an essentially philanthropic enterprise. In the arguments for increased funds for school support, the value of education to the individual and the disadvantage under which the individual suffers when he is denied educational privileges have had a preponderant place. The claims of the state and of the nation for an enlightened citizenship have been recognized, it is true, but largely in a perfunctory way. At basis the appeal has been to philanthropy and has laid its chief emphasis upon the injustice of denying to the children of the poor the advantages that the children of the rich enjoy.

It is in no sense derogatory to our people that they have supported and extended educational opportunities primarily from this essentially philanthropic motive; but the exclusive appeal to this motive has been unfortunate. It has intensified the localism of education. It has led the richer communities to self-satisfaction with their own educational efforts on the ground that they were doing their best for all the children within their own borders. If children beyond their borders were less well circumstanced the richer communities might lament the fact, but they could hardly be expected to divide their wealth and their advantages with their less fortunate neighbors. Thus the fact that American communities are interdependent educationally as well as commercially and industrially has been obscured. That the wealth and prosperity of a great city are directly related to the prosperity of its tributary area is clear to all. That the prosperity of this tributary area depends upon the intelligence of its inhabitants, that the schools of this area should be matters of concern to those who have the city's prosperity at heart, and that the city has an obligation to the outlying districts from which its wealth has been derived, these are truths not so readily grasped.

It has indeed taken the experiences of the past year to drive home this basic fact of educational interdependence. It has taken the crisis of the great war to prove convincingly that there can be no such thing as an American community that lives to itself alone, whether in industry, in politics, or in education. With seven hundred thousand illiterate young men subject to the draft, the educational backwardness of any single district or area becomes at once a matter of national concern. Modern warfare is a conflict in which mental efficiency and physical efficiency combine to play the leading rôles, and even the kind of physical efficiency which modern warfare demands is the intelligent kind—the counterpart of adequate knowledge and clear thinking.

The war has revealed all this with startling clearness. It is for us now to generalize the lesson. If the safety of democracy in a time of great crisis is so clearly dependent upon a high level of enlightened intelligence, we may be sure that the passing of the crisis will not change this fundamental condition.

The rural and village schools are by far the weakest links in the educational chain. There is no way in which these links can be strengthened save through expenditures vastly greater than the local communities can supply. General state taxation has already proved itself inadequate to a solution of the problem on a national scale. The welfare of the nation itself is more intimately bound up with the intelligence of that majority of its children now enrolled in the rural and village schools than with any other single factor. Federal coöperation in the support and development of rural education is clearly and unequivocally the only solution of the problem.

THE CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY CENTER[1]

JOHN H. COOK

THE consolidated school ministers to the educational needs of a larger community than is served by the one-room school. A minimum number of interested people are essential to an abiding interest in a social community center. The number of patrons in the sub-district school is below the minimum, while the consolidated school may have sufficient numbers to maintain this interest. Many forms of community recreation and activity are made possible by the support of this larger number. Among such activities may be mentioned lecture courses, interscholastic contests, both athletic and intellectual, home-talent plays, farmers' institutes and extension schools, and other entertainments of various sorts.

Talented leadership is indispensable to success in making an institution a social or community center. There is a dearth of leadership in the one-room school district unit, owing to small numbers and the lack of interest of the natural leaders of the community in the one-room school. For the class from which leaders are recruited is composed partly of those parents who are divided in school interests on account of children attending foreign high schools and partly of those who hold in entire disdain the inferior schools of the community. The functions held in the one-room school are not likely even to secure the patronizing presence of those whose standing and attainments fit them for leadership. Without the hearty coöperation of the natural leaders of a community no institution can be a successful social center.

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[1] Adapted from Publications American Sociological Society, XI: 97–105, 1916.

The consolidated or centralized school offers bountiful opportunity for the extension of mutual acquaintance among the residents of a rural community. Children from distant portions of the township form friendships which tend to create ties of interest in the parents. One resident of a centralized district describes the results of centralization in extending acquaintance thus: "Before the schools were centralized my son seemed to know no one when we rode about the township. Now as we ride about, a boy or girl will yell, 'Hello, Sammy,' or wave greetings from a distance. When I inquire, 'Who is this?' he often gives names entirely unfamiliar to me. Through my son I have become acquainted with many excellent people whom, otherwise, I would have never known." This is a typical experience.

Another beneficent result, permanent in effect, will be the formation of lasting friendships among the citizens of the future. This will more than neutralize the disintegrating forces resulting from changed industrial conditions. Not only does the centralized school offer a wider acquaintanceship than is offered by the one-room school, but in addition a longer period of acquaintance is offered by the consolidated schools. The high school will continue the associations of childhood through the adolescent period. These constructive features of the consolidated school do not exist in the one-room school or in any other rural institution except the consolidated school.

Another service offered by the consolidated school is of far-reaching effect in the social life of rural communities. Rural folks have long been characterized by bashfulness and the lack of capacity for social enjoyment. This is caused largely by lack of opportunity to play in childhood. Schools should develop the social power of pupils as well as their mental power. Social power, like other powers, can be developed only by its growth through exercise in a favorable environment. In the one-room school, where a child meets with only one or two of his own age and where wholesome play and social enjoyment are lacking, there can be no development of the social power. The habits thus formed are difficult to overcome in after-life; for the social powers of the pupils in such an environment are stunted. The consolidated school offers a wider acquaintance and a higher standard of social behavior. School activities stimulated by a commendable school spirit will establish the habit of coöperation. Thus, the increased social opportunities offered by the consolidated school will lay the foundations of a higher type of social activities in the rural communities of the future, so that the cultured classes of the community will be glad to coöperate in the social uplift of all.

In the consolidated or centralized school there is also a better opportunity to secure constructive leadership from among the teachers. The consolidated school with its high school department demands better trained and better prepared teachers than does the typical one-room school which is content with a teacher who has a modicum of scholarship, training, and initiative. The college graduate who teaches in the high school and the normal graduate who teaches in the grades offer better material for leadership by reason of their scholarship, their special training, and their social experience.

In the corps of teachers of the consolidated school, there is usually one who has specialized in music and who is capable of teaching and drilling children, so that appropriate music, an essential of all community gatherings, may be furnished by the children of the parents of the community. Under the direction of the domestic science teacher the pupils of the school may demonstrate the quality of their work in the culinary art to the satisfaction and pride of parents and friends. The one-room school system is defective in providing capable leadership from among its teachers. The consolidated school need not be handicapped by this defect, as it has opportunity to provide fit material from among its corps of high-class teachers.

Suitable buildings and adequate equipment are necessary for modern community centers. A well-lighted and well-arranged auditorium, a piano, a library and reading-room, a gymnasium for winter functions, and financial backing sufficient for the maintenance of these essentials are needed in a modern community center. A modern consolidated school usually provides the requisites mentioned above. If not, because of the union of financial resources that obtains in a consolidated school district, these things may usually be provided without financial strain. Community meetings held under favorable conditions will secure a larger attendance and greater enjoyment than when held in buildings poorly arranged, badly lighted, and scantily equipped. When meetings with helpful, interesting, and elevating programs are held in a properly equipped building under competent management in connection with an institution in which all are interested, there can be no serious doubt as to the successful future of such efforts.

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CHAPTER XIV

OTHER EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

EDUCATION THROUGH FARM DEMONSTRATION[1]

BRADFORD KNAPP

IN 1903–04 Congress made an appropriation authorizing work to counteract the ravages of the Mexican cotton boll weevil in Texas and other cotton states. This insect pest was laying waste the cotton fields of the Southwest, leaving abandoned farms and business failures in its wake. A small portion of the funds so appropriated was devoted to a work conducted by the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp to enable him to try out his method of teaching by conducting a large number of demonstrations on farms as described above. Dr. Knapp was then seventy years of age. He had been a stock farmer in Iowa in the '70's, and afterwards Professor of Agriculture and President of the Iowa Agricultural College. He had come to the South in 1885 and had devoted a great deal of his time to the development of the rice industry in Louisiana. In that work and in some of his work in Iowa he had used simple, direct methods of reaching farmers through practical field examples and, out of that experience, had suggested that he be permitted to try his plan of teaching farmers through demonstrations conducted on their own farms.

The work was actually begun in January, 1904. The main features consisted of personal visits of the department's representatives to a large number of farms scattered over the country then seriously affected. Demonstrations were carried on by these farmers under the careful instruction of these representatives. At first the work was devoted mainly to improving the cultural methods of raising cotton in order to minimize the damage from the weevil. However, it was soon seen that the difficulty could be met only by a general campaign of the same character for the purpose of bringing about a diversification of crops and better agricultural practices. The purpose was to bring about such a change that the farmer would not be dependent entirely upon cotton for both income and maintenance. Therefore, demonstrations in corn and many other crops were instituted in the same way.

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[1] Adapted from *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 67: 224–240, 1916.

The work was almost an immediate success. Thousands of examples or "demonstrations" were created by farmers through the instructions of the department's agents under Dr. Knapp's leadership. Meetings were held at the demonstrations and experiences compared at the end of the season. During the first year or two the work covered a great deal of territory. The demonstrations were scattered along railroads and main highways where they could be easily reached and seen. One agent was compelled to cover considerable territory. However, the effect was to restore confidence, and give the people hope and something to live on while they readjusted their agriculture to meet the new conditions. Gradually the farmers began to understand that they could raise cotton in spite of the weevil, and the full restoration of prosperity was only a matter of time and the extension of the new type of education.

The General Education Board of New York was, at that time, engaged in an earnest effort to assist southern education, not only in colleges, but in secondary schools, and even the primary rural schools. Their attention had been called to the rural problem and to the rural schools and the general educational needs of the country. While studying the situation with a view to greater assistance, they came in contact with the work of the department under Dr. Knapp. Their representatives visited Texas, met Dr. Knapp and studied his work. They were interested and impressed with Dr. Knapp's statement that in meeting an emergency he had found an opportunity to put into practice an idea he had worked out which he believed to be of universal application. They, therefore, offered to furnish the necessary funds to permit Dr. Knapp to try his plan in sections of the South far removed from the influence of the boll weevil, if arrangements could be made with the department of agriculture for the trial. As a result of their effort the offer was accepted and Dr. Knapp was furnished with funds from the General Education Board in addition to the funds from Congress. With the federal funds work was done in boll weevil territory and the territory immediately in advance of the weevil, which was gradually migrating from year to year north and east through the cotton states. With the funds of the General Education Board work of the same kind for the general improvement of agriculture and rural economic conditions was begun in Mississippi and Virginia in 1906, and was extended to Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina in 1907. The direct federal funds carried the work in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Arkansas. As the weevil advanced eastward, the states were transferred in succession from the General Education Board fund to the federal fund. The funds from both of these sources increased from year to year as the work grew in popularity. In 1909 the federal funds amounted to $102,000 and those from the General Education Board to $76,500.

In 1906 and 1907 such was the demand for the work that it was impossible to reach all who were insisting that they needed the help. When advised that financial assistance was the limiting factor in spreading the work, business men in some of the counties offered to assist in the payment of the salary of an agent if his activities could be restricted to their county. This was done. It had been fully realized by Dr. Knapp that the work would be improved by limiting the territory served by each agent. This led to the adoption of the title "County Agent" afterward so well known in the South.

In 1909 the state of Mississippi took the lead in recognizing the new type of education by enacting a law under which the county might pay part of the salary of the agent. In the years from 1909 to 1915, every southern state having power to grant such authority to the county passed some sort of law permitting the county government to coöperate with the United States Department of Agriculture in this work and to pay part or all the salary of the county agent. State appropriations were made also in a number of cases, the first in 1911 in Alabama.

The growth of the work was phenomenal. It soon became the rule rather than the exception for the county to furnish at least one-half of the money necessary for the salary and expenses of the county agent. Of late years the financial coöperation from local sources has practically doubled the service and met the appropriations dollar for dollar or more. During the early days of the development of the work men often served for the love of the service, and hence the rule was rather low salaries considering the service rendered. The work was always practical and direct. As it grew and developed and the men became more expert, the whole system gradually took form and certain well recognized methods were followed.

What does a county agent do and how does he teach by demonstrations? The county agent goes to the farm and gives his instruction while the farmer is at his everyday duties. The aim of the work was and is to place in every community practical object lessons illustrating the best and most profitable method of producing the standard farm crops, or of animal feeding, etc., and to secure such active participation in the demonstration on the part of the farmers as to prove that they can make a much larger average annual crop, or feed or produce livestock more economically, and secure a greater return for their toil. Dr. Knapp said that it might be regarded as a "system of adult education given to the farmer upon his farm by object lessons in the soil, prepared under his observation and generally by his own hand."

The teaching was very effective because at first it was simple in character, direct, and limited to a few fundamental things, such as the preparation of a good seed bed, deep fall plowing, the selection of good seed, and shallow and intensive cultivation. In the early stages of the work Dr. Knapp framed what he called the "Ten Commandments of Agriculture," as follows:

1. Prepare a deep and thoroughly pulverized seed bed, well drained; break in the fall to a depth of 8, 10 or 12 inches, according to the soil; with implements that will not bring too much of the sub-soil to the surface; (the foregoing depths should be reached gradually).
2. Use seed of the best variety, intelligently selected and carefully stored.
3. In cultivated crops, give rows and the plants in the rows, a space suited to the plant, the soil and the climate.

4. Use intensive tillage during the growing period of the crop.
5. Secure a high content of humus in the soil by the use of legumes, barnyard manure, farm refuse and commercial fertilizers.
6. Carry out a system of crop rotation with a winter cover crop on southern farms.
7. Accomplish more work in a day by using more horse power and better implements.
8. Increase the farm stock to the extent of utilizing all the waste products and idle lands on the farm.
9. Produce all the food required for the men and animals on the farm.
10. Keep an account of each farm product in order to know from which the gain or loss arises.

These became very widely known in the South and formed the basis for much of the work done by the agents.

The demonstrations were extended from crop to crop. With the fundamental idea that it was necessary to readjust the agriculture of the South and make it more profitable and to make the country life better, Dr. Knapp taught the great lesson of diversification or a self-sustaining agriculture. The preservation of the fertility of the soil and the furnishing of the living of the people on the farm from its products, were two necessary changes if the South was to prosper. With these things taken care of, that great section was well supplied with cash crops which it could produce and exchange in the markets of the world for the money with which to improve her life and her industries. The trouble was that the South was producing these splendid crops of cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar and exchanging them for her living.

One of the problems was to reach as many farmers as possible. The county agent could not possibly carry on a demonstration on every farm in the county. Two plans proved effective. The first was to rely upon the fact that farmers, like other people, would imitate what they saw tried with success. It became very evident that one good demonstration in a neighborhood reached more people than the farmer who carried on the demonstration. A varying number of the neighbors copied the practices and profited by the lesson because it was simple, and close by where they could see it. But some effort was also made to assist this process. Farmers around the demonstration were notified of the agent's visit and invited to come to the demonstration farm for a conference. These informal meetings were called field meetings or field schools. Neighboring farmers who were sufficiently interested agreed to carry on a demonstration on their own farms and to obtain their instruction from meeting the agent at the demonstration farms. These men who were not visited were called "coöperators." Out of these meetings grew neighborhood organizations of farmers or community clubs which now form an important part of the work.

About 1908 Dr. Knapp first began what was known as the Boys' Corn Club Movement in the South. It is true that there had been corn clubs in a number of the northern states and in one or two of the southern states prior to that time. However, Dr. Knapp should receive the credit for systematizing this very important and excellent piece of work. He established it on an acre contest basis and arranged for the giving of prizes, not on the maximum yield alone, but upon the maximum yield at minimum cost, with a written essay describing the work done and an exhibit of the product. The objects of the Boys' Corn Club Work were:

1. To afford the rural teacher a simple and easy method of teaching practical agriculture in the schools in the way it must be acquired to be of any real service; namely, by actual work upon the farm.
2. To prove that there is more in the soil than the farmer has ever gotten out of it. To inspire boys with a love of the land by showing them how they can get wealth out of it by tilling it in a better way, and thus to be helpful to the family and the neighborhood, and
3. To give the boys a definite, worthy purpose and to stimulate a friendly rivalry among them.

The first effort in this direction was in Mississippi when Mr. W. H. Smith, then County Superintendent of Schools for Holmes County, did the work in coöperation with the demonstration forces. Results of this work were extended gradually to the other states until the Boys' Corn Club Movement as a part of the general scheme of education through demonstration became a very large factor in southern agricultural work.

The Boys' Club Work was organized mainly through the schools. The county agent was recognized as the agricultural authority and gave the boys instruction. The school teachers generally acted as the organizers of the clubs. The county superintendent was a good coöperator. The state superintendent often assisted materially with the work. Prizes were contributed by local business men; the bankers became interested and often gave considerable money for prizes for these contests. The local contest and the county and state contest soon became very important and interesting events. In 1909 four state prize winners received free trips to Washington, D. C. For a number of years these annual trips attracted much attention. This plan was abandoned in 1914 for the better system of scholarship prizes. Since then the chief annual prize in the state has been a scholarship at the Agricultural College. Pig Clubs, Baby Beef Clubs, Clover Clubs, etc., are but a natural evolution which came with the years.

In 1911 the number of county agents had reached 583, the number of demonstrators and coöperators had reached 100,000, and the number of boys approximately 51,000.

In 1910 Dr. S. A. Knapp began to develop a part of the work for women and girls. It was his belief that he had thus far planned the work for the father and son. He desired to complete the work by doing something for the mother and daughter.

In October, 1910, he wrote:

> The Demonstration Work has proven that it is possible to reform, by simple means, the economic life and the personality of the farmer on the farm. The Boys' Corn Clubs have likewise shown how to turn the attention of the boy toward the farm. There remains the home itself and its women and girls. This problem can not be approached directly. The reformer who tells the farmer and his wife that their entire home system is wrong will meet with failure. With these facts in view I have gone to work among the girls to teach one simple and straight-forward lesson which will open their eyes to the possibilities of adding to the family income through simple work in and about the home.

Beginning in the states of South Carolina, Virginia and Mississippi, there were developed that year a number of Girls' Canning Cubs. This work increased rapidly.

In the broad development of the work as a whole the county agents, both men and women, naturally divide their activities into three general classes:

First: Their actual demonstrations with farmers, their wives, and the boys and girls.

Second: The giving out of general information through speeches, meetings, etc.

Third: Efforts to stimulate organization.

In the South organization work has proceeded mainly on a community basis. Community interest and activity have been often stimulated by the demonstrations, and the collecting of people together at the demonstrations has furnished a ready means of natural organization of communities. In many communities there were already organizations such as the Farmers' Union. These are assisted by the county agents. As a rule the community organization has some definite object in view such as the improvement of agricultural practices, standardization of production, maintenance of pure varieties of seed and standardizing the production of various kinds of livestock. Very often, also, they have engaged in the coöperative purchase of supplies, mainly fertilizers, and in some coöperative marketing.

In the northern states there has grown up a type of organization known as the County Farm Bureau, which is mainly an organization of individual farmers who interest themselves in securing a county agent and assisting in the general work in the county. These organizations have proved quite effective in handling a large amount of business and creating greater interest in agriculture.

In many counties in the South the type of organization for the whole county consists in the confederation of representatives from the community organizations to form a county association for the general improvement of agriculture in the whole county. It is not possible in this short article to discuss the merits of the two types of organization. Each type has many points of merit and each seems to be meeting the present needs of the people.

The ultimate type may be a combination of the good features of both plans.

Thus in brief we have the complete work involving the service of an educational system for the men, women, boys and girls on the farm. It should be fully understood that the county agent, either among the men or the women, is not left to his own fancy or whim in the work. First there are the state agents or leaders who look after the work in an entire state, with assistants, called by that name, or district agents in case they are given a portion of the state.

There are also specialists to complete the work. These are men who have been trained especially along some particular branch of agriculture and therefore have studied and prepared themselves to meet special problems or sets of problems. These men are entomologists, agronomists, horticulturists, dairymen, pathologists, etc. A few such specialists are employed to assist the county agents along these special lines. There are also such men as market experts and farm management experts who assist the county agents in their various special problems. All of these together, under a general director, constitute what is usually known as the Extension Work or the Extension Service of the state.

Dr. Seaman A. Knapp died in the spring of 1911 at the ripe age of seventy-seven years. After his death the work was continued without interruption. In these years it grew as before and its various parts were perfected as the men engaged increased in knowledge and understanding of the work they were doing. In 1911 the work had been extended to all of the southern states with the exception of Kentucky, West Virginia and Maryland. In these states it was begun in 1913.

As early as the fall of 1911, an effort was made in South Carolina to bring together all the extension work in the state and to join the federal and the state forces into one organization managed under a coöperative agreement. The coöperative agreement was actually perfected in December, 1911, and put into operation in January, 1912. Under this plan the College of Agriculture of the State and the Federal Department agreed on a joint representative to administer the work in the state and agreed on the details and method under which he was to carry the work along. This plan proved an immediate success and was copied in Texas in 1912 and in Georgia in 1913. Florida fell in line in the early spring of 1914.

In 1911 some experiments in reaching farmers directly through a resident instructor were tried in the northern states under the direction of the Office of Farm Management of the Federal Department of Agriculture. In the early part of the year 1912 the same office was authorized to begin a systematic effort to extend this practical direct work among farmers into the southern states. The problems to be met were different and it required time and experience to enable the workers to adapt the fundamental principles involved in the demonstration work to the new field. North Dakota began an independent demonstration work early in 1912, afterward uniting with the department's general work of the same character. In addition to North Dakota, New York and Indiana were among the first to develop the work in the northern states. In all the northern and western work the well trained county agent was the necessary part of the plan as in the South.

Beginning in 1862 with the Morrill Act for the endowment of the state colleges of agriculture, the Congress of the United States had passed a series of acts to assist the states in agricultural education and research. The Nelson Act increased the funds for teaching agriculture in the colleges, and the Hatch and Adams Acts created and supported the state experiment stations.

It would be impossible to say just when the colleges had first begun to think about some act to assist them with the extension work or direct work with farmers, but certainly a number of years before the passage of the Smith-Lever Act the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations had been interested and active in that direction. Many of the leading agricultural colleges of the northern states, and especially of the middle western states, had established extension departments of considerable proportions. Their work consisted mainly of the sending out of specialists, the conducting of institutes, movable schools of agriculture and home economics, short courses at the colleges, and boys' and girls' club work. Some plot work and a few demonstration farms of the kind first referred to in the early part of this article were also a part of the work. As already stated, the Office of Farm Management of the United States Department of Agriculture began actual work in the North in 1912. This work of putting county agents into northern counties grew rapidly and appropriations were increased to meet the expense.

It is not the purpose here to trace the history of the passage of the Smith-Lever Act. The Act was finally approved by the President May 8, 1914. It provides for the establishment of coöperative extension work in agriculture and home economics. Each state was to establish a division for such work at its land grant college, that is, the college which had received the benefits of the Morrill, the Nelson, the Hatch and the Adams Acts.

> The act provides that the work shall consist of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons not attending or resident in said colleges in the several communities, and imparting to such persons information on said subjects through field demonstrations, publications and otherwise; and this work shall be carried on in such manner as may be mutually agreed upon by the Secretary of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College or colleges receiving the benefits of this Act.

The appropriations from the federal treasury, under this act, began with $480,000 for the year ending June 30, 1915, which was divided equally, $10,000 to each of the forty-eight states. For the next year an additional appropriation of $600,000 was made and then the amount increases by $500,000 per annum until the amount reaches $4,100,000 in addition to the original $480,000, or a total of $4,580,000. As to all the additional appropriation above the $480,000, it is provided that it shall be divided between the states in the proportion that the rural population of each state bears to the total rural population, on condition that "no payment out of the additional appropriation herein provided shall be made in any year to any state until an equal sum has been appropriated for that year by the Legislature of the State, or provided by state, county, college, local authority, or individual contribution from within the state for the maintenance of the coöperative agricultural extension work provided for in this act." This means that at the end of the year 1922 there will be an annual appropriation from the federal treasury amounting to $4,580,000, and annual contributions from within the states amounting to $4,100,000 for the support of the work, or a grand total of $8,680,000. This will be the annual expenditure in this new and important system of agricultural education.

It should be remembered that the law itself makes this a coöperative work. The enormous annual economic loss in the United States by reason of soil depletion, insect ravages, diseases of crops and animals, improper cultural methods, and lack of proper marketing systems has been increasing from year to year. The nation, the states, the colleges and many public and private organizations have been attempting to correct these evils, each in its own way and with its own machinery and independent of the others. The resulting effort could not be otherwise than wasteful, more or less inefficient and often misdirected. Wrong principles were often advocated or correct ones improperly presented. Expensive effort was duplicated many times. Rivalries and competition were more common than harmony and coöperation. The result of it all was doubt, confusion and lack of confidence on the part of most of the people in agricultural work. The new act provides for unity and coöperation. The field force represents both the United States Department of Agriculture and the state colleges of agriculture.

Shortly after the passage of the act the Secretary of Agriculture put the act into effect by making an agreement with each state which brings all the work into harmony and unity through the one state organization representing both the state and the nation. Within the department he established the States Relations Service, the two divisions of which, under the director, handle the relations with the states under this act and also administer all extension work of the department carried out through the state extension divisions.

Under the present plans there will eventually be a county agricultural agent in every county and also a county woman agent, each supported in their work by a trained force of specialists and a competent administrative staff.

So we have the new system of instruction with its full force of instructors and its plans being worked out. A great public service organization has been created. The effect of this great movement can not be estimated. In the South, where it has been the longest in operation, the improvement in agriculture is most noticeable. Thousands of community organizations are drawing together for better rural life, hundreds of thousands of demonstrations are conducted each year and the actual number of persons reached already mounts into the millions. The wastes are being stopped, the bad practices remedied, the diseases eradicated, the fertility of the soil conserved and built up, the marketing systems improved, and country life is beginning to take on an air of interest and attractiveness which will hold its people and draw others to the great life of this foundation calling of the people.

The work is yet in its infancy. With the years there will be improvements. What are now regarded as experiments will settle into accepted practices. Skill, form, system, all will grow and be developed as they have with the teaching in the schools. But the fundamental principle of having the teacher go to the one to be taught and to illustrate the lesson by a demonstration conducted by the one receiving the lesson will remain the very foundation of the new educational system. It has already triumphed where the word of mouth instruction failed. The dream of the founder has become the reality recognized and established by law.

HOME ECONOMICS WORK UNDER THE SMITH-LEVER ACT [1]

THE chief objections of women to country life are usually (1) the generally small returns in farming, (2) the drudgery of farm work, and (3) the social isolation. More money for home conveniences and greater efficiency in household management both have in view the lessening of the drudgery of farm work and the securing of certain periods of leisure to farm women which may be used in productive, social, and recreational ways.

[1] Adapted from *Journal of Home Economics.* 7: 357–358. The American Home Economics Assn., Baltimore, 1915. Office of Information, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

Extension work designed to be fundamentally helpful to farm women would seem, therefore, to include within its scope certain matters, as follows:

1. Plans to increase the net income of the farm. Farm women need more money for home purposes. The purchase of home conveniences, the installation of water, sewerage, lighting, and heating systems, kitchen and other conveniences, and the bringing of literature and music into the home are, in the majority of country homes, dependent upon greater net profits in farming. Knowledge of these conveniences and other desirable things is good, but money to buy these desirable things is a vital necessity if country life is to be made as acceptable to women as town life. The county agent is giving especial attention to this phase of the work.

2. Plans to teach and demonstrate efficiency in farm home management. These include such matters as wholesome food properly prepared and served in adequate supply and variety throughout the year, the care of the home and the family linen and wardrobe, the care and management of children, and sometimes the handling of certain farm enterprises like poultry and eggs, milk and butter, the garden, small fruits, etc. Efficiency in farm home management contemplates the maximum of accomplishment with the minimum of effort to the end that the farm family may find satisfaction and contentment in the home, and that the time of the farm woman may be conserved.

3. Plans for leisure and development. The farm woman needs time for reading, self-development, child teaching, social life, and recreation.

In the development of Home Economics demonstration work, there needs to be kept in mind the point of view that the problems of country women must chiefly be solved by country women. The county agent movement in some sections of the North and West started out primarily as a city man's movement, but it has succeeded in exact proportion as the farmers of the country have taken hold of the work and made it their own.

City women can help in the development of the forthcoming demonstration work in Home Economics for country women. One of the ways in which city women can be of direct help in the movement is through greater social intercourse with farm women, through direct purchases of poultry, eggs, butter, fresh and canned fruits and vegetables, and by coöperating with them in the maintenance of rest rooms, nurseries, etc., for farm women when they come to town. But what farm women need and how to meet these needs are matters which must be worked out chiefly by farm women themselves. The criticism sometimes heard with reference to much of our Home Economics teaching is that such teaching is done primarily from the standpoint of the town woman. The country woman's problems are the problems of the country and must be approached from that standpoint.

BOYS' AND GIRLS' CONTEST CLUBS[1]

L. H. BAILEY

Among the many enterprises that are at present undertaken for the betterment of country life and agriculture, boys' and girls' clubs are holding much public attention. These clubs are in the nature of organized contests, with emoluments, prizes or public recognition standing as rewards. Contests may lie in the growing of prize crops, in the feeding of animals, in the making of gardens, in the organizing of prize-winning canning-clubs, bread-clubs and others. The organization of these clubs in recent years has undoubtedly constituted a distinct contribution toward the stimulation of interest in rural affairs and the development of pride and incentive on the part of many of the country people.

I have watched their growth with much interest and have had something to do in giving them encouragement and facilities. However, there are certain perils in this kind of effort, and I desire to offer some suggestions of warning, while at the same time reaffirming my approval of the general idea of organizing boys and girls for mutual emulation and improvement. We are now coming to a new era in our agricultural work, consequent on the passage by Congress of the great extension bill and the beginning of the organization of many kinds of rural betterment enterprises on a national basis. It is time, therefore, that we challenge all our old practices and make plans in a new way.

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[1] Adapted from "York State Rural Problems," 2: 71-79. J. B. Lyon Co., Albany.

I see considerable dangers in the boys' and girls' club work, as some of it is undertaken at the present time or into which it may drift in the future. Perhaps there are other dangers, but four will be sufficient for discussion at the moment.

(1) These clubs or contests may not represent real effort on the part of the child. Work that is credited to the child may be done by father, mother, brother, sister, or by associates. Probably in many cases the child's responsibility is only nominal. The boy or girl may receive credit for accomplishments that are not his or hers and that therefore are not real; and if they are not genuine, then, of course, they are dishonest. They start the child on a wrong basis and on false pretenses. All such work should be under careful and continuous control.

(2) The rewards may be out of all proportion to the effort expended. The prize should have relation to the value of the effort or the earning-power of the work, or it is likely to be damaging to the child and to arouse opposition in his community or among his associates. Rewards in agriculture have not come easily, and this has been one of the merits of the occupation in the training of the race, and it is one of the reasons why agriculture is a strong and important national asset.

When we make the rewards too easy, we not only cheapen the effort, but we lose the training value of the work. We must be careful that we do not let the rewards in agriculture come more cheaply or more easily than in other occupations. The person must work for what he gets and really earn it, or else the occupation will lose in dignity and standing with the people. Agriculture should not accept gratuities.

Some time ago a young woman came to my office to secure a subscription, saying that if she accomplished a certain number of hundreds, she would win a scholarship. She was willing to expend weeks of very hard work, to go to much inconvenience for the purpose of earning the scholarship. About the same time, certain young boys were brought to my office as one stage in a trip that was given them for relatively unimportant effort in an agricultural contest. I could not help feeling that the rewards of exertion were unjustly distributed. The travel-prizes are specially likely to be out of keeping with the original effort expended by the child.

We should take every pains to let the children feel that the rewards in life come only with the expenditure of adequate effort.

(3) The effect of these contests may be to inflate the child and to give him undue and untruthful estimate of his own importance. A shrewd observer of a boy's prize excursion remarked that every boy after he got home should be punished; but another observer suggested that the boys in the neighborhood would probably prevent him from getting the bighead. I do not indorse these remarks, but it illustrates the dangers that are likely to accrue unconsciously to the child. It is a doubtful undertaking to single out certain children in a community for unusual recognition or reward.

(4) The children are liable to be exploited, and this is one of the most apparent dangers in the whole situation. They are likely to be used in the making of political or other public reputation, or in accomplishing advertising and propaganda for institutions, organizations, publications, commercial concerns, and other enterprises, or to exploit the resources of the state or the agriculture of a region. Children should never be made the means of floating anybody's enterprise.

Every part of the "boom" and "boost" element must be taken out of this work, and all efforts to make a display or a demonstration. Substantial enterprises may stand on their own feet, and the work with children may stand on its own feet and not be tied up to undertakings to which it does not belong.

Recognizing the dangers that may come from the organization of boys' and girls' clubs, how can we so safeguard them in the new time that these dangers will be eliminated or at least reduced to the minimum? I think that we can safeguard them if only we recognize the essential nature and function of such contests.

The fundamental consideration is that all this kind of work is educational. It is not primarily agricultural work, not undertaken directly to improve the farming of a region. The primary consideration is its effect on the child. If we cannot accept these propositions, then I should be in favor of giving up the boys' and girls' contests.

It is legitimate to use domestic animals and crops for the primary purpose of improving and advertising the agriculture of a region; but we must not use children in this way. Animals and crops are agricultural products; children are not agricultural products.

If these positions are granted, we shall agree that this contest work between children must be put more and more into the hands of those who are trained in education and who carry the responsibility before the public for educational effort. I think that this kind of work should be a part of the public school system. On their own account, schools must take up this and similar work if they are to secure the best results for themselves and to cover their own fields. The organizing or laboratory work at home under the direction of the teacher is one of the most important means of tying the schools and the homes together and making the school a real part and parcel of the community.

When this time shall come, the work with crops and domestic animals and home practices will be a regular part of the school day, incorporated inseverably with the program of education. We must hope for the time when there shall be no necessity for the separate organization of such clubs, the school having reached and stimulated the situation on every farm and in every home. It is sometimes said that the agricultural agents organize the contest work better than the teachers. Perhaps; but the work is essentially school work, nevertheless, and we should now be looking for results in the long future.

Supervisors and superintendents of schools and teachers will need the demonstration-practice and the subject-matter that the agricultural agent can give them; they will increasingly call on this agent; and herein will be another effective means of tying all rural work together on a basis of coöperation and coaction.

THE RURAL BOOK HUNGER[1]

M. S DUDGEON

PROBABLY no enterprise for rural betterment has borne more fruit than the traveling library system, and certainly few have more promptly shown results. Begun as a benevolence, it has grown to be an important part of an educational system.

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[1] Adapted from *Rural Manhood*, Vol. 6: 303–307, April, 1915. County Work Dept., International Com. Y. M. C. A., N. Y.

The dearth of reading matter in many rural homes is almost beyond the belief of those to whom the daily paper, the weekly, monthly and quarterly magazines, the well-filled private book shelves, and the public libraries, general and special, have always been a matter of course. To one accustomed to these, they are necessities, and he little realizes the conditions which led that child of a backwood community to cherish the catalogue of a mail-order house as a choice possession. In order to show this lack of reading matter more specifically it may be well to cite the case of a certain township in the Middle West, where an investigation was carried on to learn just how much reading was done. The principal of the schools of a small city near by, in cooperation with the state library commission, made a survey of the twenty-one homes in this sparsely settled township. The first important discovery was that not one adult had read a book during the last year. It is little wonder, for there was not a new or attractive book in the whole three hundred owned in this whole territory, covering one hundred and fifty square miles.

The investigator found that at four homes there was not even a Bible, which he had wrongly assumed would be in every home, and did not at first count as a book, while five homes had no other book than the Bible. A little more than half of the books of fiction in the community were of the dime-novel variety. In one American home, the family consisting of father, mother, and ten children under seventeen, the total literary equipment consisted of ''The Foreman's Bride,'' ''Who is the Creator?'' ''Twenty Years of Hustling,'' and a Bible. The boy of thirteen years of age said that ''The Foreman's Bride'' was his favorite book and that he had read it several times. Another home, where both father and mother were Indians, contained about fifty dime novels, with no other books or periodicals of any kind, although both parents were educated at Carlisle.

In two homes there were no periodicals, and in the others the magazines were chiefly of the light literature type, *Comfort, Good Stories, Happy Hours,* etc. One home had *The Woman's Home Companion,* the *Cosmopolitan*, the *American Home,* and *Extension.* Forty weekly papers and eight dailies were taken, two of the latter being Bohemian papers with strong Socialistic tendencies.

Another investigation made in a seaboard state, not more than three hundred miles from New York City, reveals conditions even more startling, the data being collected with the assistance of the school teachers throughout the community. Great care was taken and the conditions found should be fairly representative, as the rural population of the state is almost exclusively native born; there is scarcely a district in the state more than ten miles from a railroad; the rural free delivery brings mail to every door; there is a compulsory school law; and the state maintains a system of traveling libraries, whereby any school, church, or club might have one free of charge upon application.

The conditions show even greater lack of reading matter than in the West. More than 50 per cent. of the families reported owned no books whatever. More than 25 per cent. of the homes reported that they took no periodicals of any kind, not even a local newspaper. About 94 per cent. took no periodical of a general or literary character. Of every thousand children in one county, 44 per cent. reported that they read nothing. More than 50 per cent. of the households in this same county reported that they owned no books.

In a district from which thirty-one replies were received, representing nineteen families, not a single pupil reports having read a book. Only two of these families own a book, "The Life of McKinley" in both cases. In eleven of the nineteen homes there was not a newspaper, a magazine or a book. Only two of seventeen families in another district own books; one has "Robinson Crusoe" and the other has "The War with Spain."

These investigations show the value of traveling libraries. In one school from which seventeen replies came (representing nine households) three homes were utterly without books, yet sixteen of the seventeen children had read books from the traveling library; four of the sixteen had never read a book from any other source, and the sixteen pupils had read sixty-one books from this library. While these data indicating a dire need for books are the result of recent investigations, librarians have for a long time appreciated the rural need for good literature, and have done much to relieve this book hunger. Before the phrase "rural betterment" passed current, if not, indeed, before it had been coined, many attempts were made to open to the country boy and girl the educational opportunities found in good books and to relieve the dull monotony of the country life by attractive reading matter. In at least thirty-three states efforts are now being made to send good books to country districts.

Sometimes the books are furnished by the public library of an adjoining city. Occasionally a township supplies its own needs with local funds. In many cases the county is the unit and owns and circulates the books. Most frequently, however, the work is done by state library commissions, which, by sending out traveling libraries, reach hundreds of communities which otherwise would be without books. In a few instances the books have been taken to the very door of the farmhouse, as in Delaware and in Maryland, where book wagons make periodical rounds. There traveling libraries are collections of from thirty-five to one hundred books which are packed in stout wooden cases and sent out by the state or the county, as the case may be. They are made up of the best popular books in fiction, history, travel, biography, science and literature, and are suited to the needs of both adults and children. Where there is a local need there may be added a selection of books printed in German, Norwegian, Bohemian, Danish, Polish or Yiddish in order that those older rural residents who cannot read the English language may be served. All forms of the traveling library are intended for farming communities and for those small villages which do not enjoy public library privileges.

If a few persons in a community are sufficiently interested in any subject to make a serious study of it they are furnished a collection of books which, with a study outline, enable them to constitute themselves a study club. There is practically no limit to the number of topics which may be studied in this way. Material of various kinds, books, pamphlets, periodicals, and pictures will be sent upon any subject from Egyptian history to the latest phase of the up-to-date sociological problem. The desires of every one are met as nearly as possible, whether he wishes to make a study of Flemish art or to learn the best way of preventing potato scab.

When the people of any community have read a library it is returned to the state or county authorities where the books are checked up, a record of their circulation is taken, and necessary repairs are made, after which it is sent to another community. The rural community is at no expense except that the cost of transportation is generally paid by the local patrons. In no event, however, is even an insignificant financial payment on the part of the patrons made the condition of obtaining the books from the local custodian.

The rule is that the traveling library shall be kept in the most centrally located and most easily accessible place that can be found. The local postoffice is an ideal place, but a general store often serves the purpose well. Frequently the local merchant finds that his increased trade well repays him for the time spent in caring for the library, since the presence of the books attracts the public to his place of business. Where there is no postoffice or store, a creamery, a cheese factory, or a private residence becomes the home of the little group of books. Sometimes the library is located in a schoolhouse, but since a schoolhouse is closed evenings, Saturdays, and during long vacation periods, the books so located are not always accessible. It is found also that adults do not usually patronize libraries which are located in schoolhouses.

Records indicate that the tastes of country readers differ very little from the tastes of city people. An examination of the recorded circulation of certain books explodes the theory that the interests of country people are peculiar to country districts. Farmers refuse to read the books which theorists think they ought to read. For example, even the best book on farm topics is rather less popular in the country than in the city. On the other hand, a book that is popular in the city is likely to be popular in the country. Further, however, a good book sent to the country is more likely to be read there than in the city, since there is in the country little or no competition from the poor, but possible more attractive, best-seller.

It is an interesting fact that the country boy or girl is very much the same sort of an individual as is the city youth and likes the same sort of books. Prof. B. A. Heydrick, of the High School of Commerce of New York City, asked six hundred city boys to give him a list of the twenty books which they liked best.

Care was taken to secure the independent, individual preference of each. At about the same time Mr. O. S. Rice, of the State Superintendent's office, in Wisconsin, made a similar request of the boys and girls in attendance in one hundred and fifty high schools in the state, many of these being the smaller village and country high schools. The result of the vote among the city boys was as follows:

Author and Title	Votes
Stevenson—Treasure Island	222
Dickens—Oliver Twist	100
Cooper—Last of the Mohicans	81
Dumas—Three Musketeers	78
Cooper—The Spy	61
Stevenson—Kidnapped	58
Barbour—Half Back	57
Dumas—Count of Monte Cristo	55
Barbour—Crimson Sweater	51
Doyle—Sherlock Holmes	46
Tarkington—Monsieur Beaucaire	44
Twain—Tom Sawyer	44
Scott—Talisman	43
Dickens—Tale of Two Cities	42
Longfellow—Courtship of Miles Standish	37
Hughes—Tom Brown's School Days	35
Longfellow—Evangeline	34
Thurston—Masquerader	34
Doyle—Sign of the Four	33
London—Call of the Wild	33

The country boys in Wisconsin, some of whom were in smaller villages and cities, chose the following books as their favorites:

Author and Title
Stevenson—Treasure Island.
Scott—Ivanhoe.
London—Call of the Wild.
Cooper—Last of the Mohicans.
Churchill—The Crisis.
Twain—Tom Sawyer.
Wallace—Ben-Hur.
Eliot—Silas Marner.
Cooper—Pathfinder.
Cooper—The Spy
Dickens—Tale of Two Cities.

Cooper—Deerslayer.
Wright—Shepherd of the Hills.
Doubleday—From Cattle Ranch to College.
Eggleston—Hoosier Schoolmaster.
Fox—Trail of the Lonesome Pine.
Dickens—David Copperfield.
Wister—The Virginian.
Eggleston—Last of the Flatboats.
Dixon—Leopard Spots.

It is to be noted that "Treasure Island" heads both lists and the presence of the "Last of the Mohicans," "The Spy," "Tom Sawyer," "Tale of Two Cities" and "The Call of the Wild" upon both lists indicates that boys are boys in the country and in the city. It is rather interesting to note also that in addition to these excellent books which are indicated upon both lists, the country boys selected Scott's "Ivanhoe," Dickens' "David Copperfield," Eliot's "Silas Marner," and Wallace's "Ben-Hur." While some deplore that only fiction is represented upon these lists we suspect that a perfectly sincere expression from a group of adults would have given much the same results in this particular. On the whole the investigation indicates that the tastes of the American boys, whether in the city or country, are clean and wholesome. City and country boys alike have an evident fondness for books of violence and heroism, but the violence is not lawless and the heroism is genuine.

The vote taken by the boys living in rural Wisconsin bears evidence that good use will be made of book facilities when they are offered. The Wisconsin boy's acquaintance with the best books grows out of the fact that under the Wisconsin law each school district is required to expend for books out of the funds coming to it from the state at least ten cents for each person of school age within the district. Something over sixty-five thousand dollars is thus spent annually for books in these schoolhouses. None of this is spent in the large cities, so that this sum goes into the smaller cities and villages and into the country districts. In addition to this the state expends a considerable sum of money in maintaining a state traveling library system, and during the last year over forty thousand volumes were sent out to over six hundred different rural communities scattered over the entire state.

Some time since a rather careful investigation was made of the efficiency of different library systems. It was discovered that the state traveling library systems circulated every volume owned with greater frequency than did the average city library in six representative states chosen at random. The average city library circulated each volume owned only 2.22 times during the year, whereas one state traveling library system, according to its actual recorded circulation, circulated every volume 2.77 times per year. As it is very difficult to get unpaid custodians of traveling libraries to record every circulation, it is likely that the actual circulation much exceeded the recorded circulation. It is also probably true that each time a book is taken from a traveling library situated in the country it is read by many more persons than is a book taken from a city library by a resident of the city. Several members of the farmer's family are likely to read every book which gets into the farm-house. The records of another state traveling library system showed that each volume owned was circulated 4.07 times per year.

The average city library in the six states tested expended 12.6 cents for each time a volume was circulated, whereas the two state traveling library systems tested spent 7 cents and 7.7 cents respectively for each time a volume was circulated. Fourteen county traveling library systems in one state expended only 5 cents for each time a volume was circulated.

We think we may safely assume that the need for books in the country is greater than the need in the city. If this is correct and if the traveling library systems circulate the books on their shelves more frequently than do city libraries, and if it costs the traveling library systems less to deliver good books in book hungry rural districts than it costs to deliver the less needed books to urban dwellers, are not the traveling library systems more efficient than are city libraries?

The data collected seem to indicate clearly four points: first, many rural communities are sadly in need of reading matter; second, country people will read when given the opportunity; third, country people do not differ greatly from city people in their choice of books; fourth, money invested in traveling libraries is well invested.

THE COMMUNITY FAIR[1]

J. STERLING MORAN

THE COMMUNITY FAIR is a miniature county fair conducted by the people of a community to promote its social and economic life. It arouses interest and pride in local achievement by affording an opportunity for the exhibition of the best products of the community, fosters the spirit of coöperation by bringing the people together in friendly rivalry, and affords an opportunity for wholesome community recreation.

These fairs are held quite generally throughout the country and are known in different localities as community fairs, district fairs, township fairs, school fairs, grange fairs, and farmers'-club fairs. The fall festivals, harvest home festivals, and farm, home, and school festivals, which are held in certain localities, are adaptations of the same general idea.

The community, township, or district fair makes its appeal directly to all members of the community, while the fair conducted by the farmers' club appeals especially to the members of the organization concerned.

The school fair in its simplest form is an exhibition of the work done and the products grown by the school children. From the school fair, with its community-wide interest, it is an easy step to include the products of the older girls and boys who are not in school, and ultimately the products and work of all the members of the community.

Other types of community fairs vary from the "harvest home thanksgiving festival" of New England, which was originally dominated by the religious motive and had very few exhibits aside from those brought for decorative purposes, to the "farm, home, and school festivals" of the Middle West, where the main feature is the exhibition of products and where recreation of all kinds forms a prominent part.

A single organization is seldom influential enough to enlist all the elements in a community for the purpose of conducting a community fair. Every organization in the community ought to feel responsible for the success of the enterprise.

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[1] Adapted from Farmers' Bulletin 870, United States Department of Agriculture.

The first step is to get together the leaders of the different organizations in the community for the purpose of considering whether or not it is advisable to hold a community fair. It is well to present at this meeting a general outline of the method of procedure for the conduct of the fair. If the plan is approved by this group, a community meeting is called, at which full explanation is made regarding the nature and purposes of a community fair and the methods of conducting it. This meeting should be well advertised by posters, newspaper notices, and post cards addressed to each family, calling attention to the place and date and emphasizing the importance of the meeting. If the community decides to hold a fair, the next step is to form an organization, either temporary or permanent, and elect officers, consisting of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer. Committees should also be chosen.

The president keeps in close touch with the other officers and the chairmen of all the committees and is the correlating force and executive officer of the fair. The other officers perform the duties usually pertaining to their offices. The committees should have from three to five members each, including at least one young person of school age.

The amusement and entertainment committee has charge of all athletics and field sports, games, folk dances, pageants, and parades, and also arranges for music, motion pictures, speakers, and other attractions.

The arrangements and decorations committee arranges for a place to hold the fair and looks after the decorations, using flowers, autumn leaves, evergreens, bunting, flags, and other available material. This committee coöperates with the several committees having charge of the different exhibit departments and assigns such tables, shelves, and wall space as are needed.

The publicity committee enlists the help of the local newspapers and supplies them regularly with articles concerning the fair and with a comprehensive report after it has been held. Regular notices are given in schools and churches and at all public gatherings for several weeks prior to the holding of the fair. Handmade posters are often used, and when well made they give individuality and attractiveness to the advertising. Printed handbills or ''fliers'' giving detailed lists of articles that may be exhibited in each department are distributed to every family in the community several weeks before the fair. In the preparation of these suggestive lists the publicity committee works with the chairman of the committees having charge of the several exhibit departments of the fair.

While it is to be expected that the exhibits at a community fair will receive special attention for the purpose of exhibition, nevertheless they should represent as nearly as possible the normal production of the community, for one of the purposes of holding a community fair is to stimulate a desire to increase the quantity and to improve the quality of the average product. Freak exhibits of all kinds are to be avoided.

Personal solicitation has been found to be a most effective means of inducing people to make exhibits. Each exhibitor should realize that he is in competition only with other members of the community and that it will not be possible for some stranger to take all the prizes.

Satisfactory results are usually obtained in community fairs by grouping certain classes of exhibits. Thus, in the live-stock department, horses, cattle, swine, poultry, and pets are exhibited. In the farm-products department are shown different varieties of grains and seeds, grasses and forage crops, field beans and peas, peanuts and potatoes, together with dairy products and bee products. The orchard and garden department includes such exhibits as fruits and vegetables, ornamental shrubbery, and flowers.

The woman's-work and fine-arts department includes prepared foods, canned goods, jellies, preserves, and pickles, and all kinds of needlework, together with such exhibits as paintings, metal work, raffia and reed basket work, pottery, painted china, and handmade jewelry.

The school and club department includes all exhibits from organizations in the community which wish to bring the results of their work before the community in this way.

The historical relics department includes firearms, swords, caps, and other war relics, old looms, spinning wheels, and articles produced on them, old pictures, drawings, documents, Indian relics, family relics, geological specimens, and objects of interest from other lands.

Besides the committees having charge of these departments, there are often others that conduct such activities as a better-babies contest, a health exhibit, or a parcel-post exhibit.

Judges of ability and experience should be secured. The state agricultural colleges and other institutions are usually willing to render such assistance as their force of workers and means will permit. There are often other individuals with exceptional experience who may be available at little or no expense. When possible, judges should be chosen from outside the community.

The relatively small number of exhibits at a community fair makes it possible for the judges to explain the basis upon which the awards were made. Besides allaying criticism, this plan has great educational value. If standard score cards can be obtained from reliable sources, they should be put into the hands of prospective exhibitors several weeks prior to the fair, and all judging should be done on this basis.

It has often been found that community fairs do not appeal to certain persons who have been in the habit of making exhibits at fairs where cash premiums are awarded. The primary aim of an exhibitor at a community fair, however, should not be to win a money prize as compensation for preparing his exhibit. Experience has proved that the awarding of money prizes not only makes the cost of a fair prohibitive, but, by placing the emphasis on money instead of on the honor of achievement, defeats the purpose of the fair.

The best results have been obtained where ribbons have been awarded, the color of the ribbon denoting the grade of the prize. If money is available for printing the ribbons, each one should be so printed as to show the occasion, place, and date. Awards should be made on the basis of the excellence of the exhibit, and no premium should be awarded to a poor exhibit. Accordingly, for the information of exhibitors, it is well to publish for each class of exhibits the requirements that are to be considered by the judges in awarding premiums.

There are numerous instances where valuable premiums have been given by commercial concerns for awards to individuals or organizations that have been successful along the line in which the donors were particularly interested. In a Middle Western State premiums were offered for the best kept farm and home premises and to the farm and home showing the greatest improvement in a given time.

The community fair does not require large sums of money for premiums or other expenses, and for this reason no charges are made for entry of exhibits or gate admissions. A small amount of money, however, is necessary to pay for printing and general advertising, lumber for tables, shelves, and live-stock pens, ribbons for premiums, and such decorative material and incidentals as are needed. This money is raised either by subscription or by selling advertising space in the premium list or fair catalogue.

The managements of county fairs are beginning to realize the value of the community exhibit as a factor in making the county fair serve its purpose as an agricultural exhibition. Liberal premiums have been offered for these community exhibits, either in cash or in such form as to be of community use, as, for example, reference books on agricultural subjects to be kept in the community library, a watering trough conveniently located, or a drinking fountain.

One state has recently passed a law providing for the holding of community fairs and appropriating money for the purpose of packing community exhibits and transporting them to the larger fairs.

An interesting county fair, made up of seventy-two community exhibits, was recently held in a county in the Middle West. There were no races or sideshows. The 10,000 people in attendance spent their time for two days in visiting and inspecting the exhibits and in wholesome recreation under the supervision of an expert recreational director from a neighboring city. The exhibits, occupying in all about 15,000 square feet of floor space and 55,000 square feet of wall space, were housed in vacant buildings on the business street and in tents. Each community had its booths and the several communities vied with each other in making attractive exhibits of the products of the farm, home, and school.

THE SMITH-HUGHES ACT[1]

This act is quite similar in some of its features to the Agricultural Act of 1914. There is the same provision for continuing and increasing appropriations, beginning with $1,700,000 in 1917, and rising to $7,200,000 in 1925. The available money will be distributed among all states which agree to contribute sums equal to their allotments and to conform to the terms of the act. The appropriation provides for the creation of three distinct funds, viz., (1) for paying salaries of teachers, supervisors or directors of agricultural subjects; (2) for paying the salaries of teachers of trade, home economics and industrial subjects, and (3) for training the teachers and others mentioned under (1) and (2). The basis of distribution among the states is rural population under (1), urban population under (2), and total population under (3). A state may accept benefits under one or more of these funds, as it prefers.

The act creates a Federal Board of Vocational Education, consisting of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, the United States Commissioner of Education, and three other members, to be appointed by the President, of whom one is to represent manufacturing and commercial interests, one agricultural interests, and one labor interests. The board, besides administering the act and supervising the work in the several states, will carry out investigations of various kinds relating to vocational education, coöperating, so far as may be advisable, with the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of Education.

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[1] Adapted from "The Smith-Hughes Act for Vocational Education," *Scientific American*, p. 130, N. Y., Aug. 25, 1917.

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CHAPTER XV

THE COUNTRY CHURCH

TEN YEARS IN A COUNTRY CHURCH[1]

MATTHEW B. MC NUTT

THE simple story of a decade of ministerial work, such as the magazine has requested me to write, is this:

One cold Saturday morning in February, 1900, a seminary fellow-student chanced to meet me.

"Hello, Mac," he said, "don't you want to preach to-morrow, thirty miles out of Chicago? I have two appointments."

I told him that I would go. I boarded the first train and landed about noon in Naperville, Ill. I was met at the station by an old gentleman whom I took to be a farmer. I was right, and he informed me that his church was six miles in the country. This was rather unwelcome news, for the day was disagreeable and I was not clad for such a drive; but I was treated to a good dinner and we made the venture. The good roads attracted my attention at once, and my farmer friend told me that all the roads were thus paved with gravel. And such splendid farm-buildings as we passed I had never before seen on my travels. We saw horses and cattle that looked as if they had just come from a state fair. My expectations had risen high at what I had observed and I was eager to see that country church.

At last it hove in sight—a very plain structure, built half a century before, with a single room and with surroundings that gave a stranger the impression that the church was the last thing in the community to receive any consideration. It was altogether incommensurate with its thrifty surroundings. The fences about the manse and church-lots had toppled over, and the old horse-sheds were an eye-sore to every passerby. The manse seemed to be about the only house in the community that was void of all comforts and conveniences. One of the elders, a farmer, had been preaching for three years, until he died; and the last regular minister had resigned with $400 due on his salary, which the church borrowed to square the account. Six of the nine Sunday-school teachers were members of one family—and they were good teachers, too. The three elders were also trustees, and each taught a class in the Sunday-school. One of these elders was also Sunday-school superintendent, Sunday-school treasurer, church treasurer, and treasurer of benevolences. A hall had been fitted up in the neighborhood to be the home of an organization that called itself "The New Era Club." But dancing seemed to be the only amusement, though the club's original promoters had hoped for better things. No one had united with the church for five years. The only services were preaching and Sunday-school on the Sabbath, and a meeting of the Women's Missionary Society. Collections were taken once a year for missions and ministerial relief, and this was practically the extent of the benevolence.

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[1] Adapted from *World's Work*, 21: 13761–13766, December, 1910.

Here was a church that had lived in a community for sixty-seven years. Its organization had been effected beneath some trees with a tribe of Indians curiously watching the proceeding from a distance. Many of the original Scotch, English and Yankee families had moved away or died; and their places had been often filled by Germans, who were invariably of a different faith. How to sustain the life of this institution had become a serious problem that worried those who were responsible for its direction. Some of the people were thinking that the country church had outlived its usefulness. None knew better than the leaders that things were not going well with their kirk, and none were more grieved about it.

I preached that Sunday and was invited to preach again the following Sunday. I did so, and at the close of the service was asked if I would consider a call. I replied that I would finish my work in the seminary in May and would then be ready for a job somewhere; and that I saw no good reason why I should not become the pastor of a farmers' church. The salary proposed was $600 a year, with a manse and five acres of land. In the meantime a letter came from a presbytery in the West (where

I had preached during two summer vacations), strongly urging me to go there and take charge of three churches at nearly double the salary offered here. That looked like a much larger proposition—financially and otherwise—and I was drawn toward it.

The Du Page people were to decide by vote the following Sunday whether or not they wanted me. Sick from a cold that I had contracted on the first trip, I had asked a classmate to go in my stead—requesting him to wait at his room until I had prepared a message asking the congregation not to consider me as a candidate. For some reason the classmate did not wait. I hastened downtown, thinking that I could overtake him at the station, but I reached the gate just in time to see the train disappearing round the bend. The vote was taken and the result came to me two days afterward in a letter from one of the elders, saying that out of forty-eight ballots there had been only one "no." A letter from the same man came the next day explaining that the one negative vote had been cast by a little 13-year-old girl who had not understood how to prepare her ballot.

Here was truly a great opportunity, looking me squarely in the face—a call from the country! I reconsidered the matter and concluded that I would cast my lot with those country-folk —for better or for worse.

Why I came to this country church, six miles from a railroad and without even a village surrounding it, I cannot explain I had received no special training for it other than that I had been born on a farm and brought up in a country church. The days spent in college and in the seminary were so full of hard study that the thought of where my "homiletic bias" should eventually be turned loose never once entered my mind. I simply had a general feeling that in due time there would be some good, hard work for me somewhere, I cared not where.

When I came to the field the first of May, I was surprised and not a little disappointed to find that these good people would not consent to an installation until they had tried the new minister at least a year. This was the Scotch conservatism that was lurking in the congregation. However, I did not feel so badly when I discovered that this was their regular custom.

There was no one to occupy the manse with me, so I furnished two rooms for myself and arranged to take my meals with a neighborly farmer. When a year had passed, the people were then willing enough to install; but the pastor, somewhat dissatisfied with this lonely way of living and with no immediate prospects of anything better, thought it unwise to form a permanent relationship with the church. Another year fled and there was a "better-half" in the manse. The congregation voted again—unanimously as before—and the installation took place.

One of the hardest things to overcome was their preconceived notions about the church and about country life. I found it difficult to change the old way of doing things. The only hope of progress seemed to be in training the younger generation. But how to train it and in what, were the great problems to be solved. One thing was certain: the church society as it was organized and conducted did not seem to be all that the community needed. Many of the people had grown indifferent to the church, and those who were interested did not seem to know just what was lacking. Where could this country church and pastor look for light? Not to other country churches, for they, too, were in the dark. Not to the town and city, because their methods were devised for an environment presenting altogether different conditions. There was nothing left for us to do, therefore, but to study the situation and work out the solution ourselves. And that is just what we have been doing.

I soon realized that, in order to succeed in a community like this, a country parson must do a great deal more than preach and visit his flock. His duties must vary, as mine did, from janitor to head financier,—depending upon how much the people have been trained to do, and also upon how much they are able to do.

The first work that we attempted (apart from what is ordinarily considered church work) was to develop systematically the musical talent of the community. This was done through an old-fashioned singing-school. All the young people were taught to read music and to sing. Quartettes were formed; musical instruments of various kinds were purchased by individuals; and an orchestra was started. There are few homes in the parish now that do not have music of some kind. A great many of the young men and women have been encouraged to take private lessons in voice and on the piano, violin, and cornet. Some of them had thought that they possessed no talent for music; they got their start in the singing-school.

This musical talent was put to good use. The chorus choir has done fine work—singing around in the different homes one or two evenings every week—for the sick, for the aged, and for those who can not go anywhere to hear music. Our quartettes have been in demand to sing in the surrounding towns on special occasion, such as funerals and farmers' institutes. There are many special entertainments at the church in which our musicians take a prominent part. At our last Children's Day service a chorus of eighty voices sang, accompanied by a number of instruments. Some of our young women are now teaching music in the community.

Parallel with the music, we cultivate the art of public speaking. Even the very small children are given places on our programs. Extemporaneous speaking is practiced in all our societies.

These public occasions are a great stimulus to our young folks to do their best in declaiming. In many cases the parents become interested and send their children to some teacher in elocution for more thorough training, especially when the son or the daughter is to read or debate at some big event. Last fall a team from our young men's society debated the income tax question with a team of business men from town. At different times we have given plays in the church. The last was a story from one of the magazines which a woman of this parish dramatized for the occasion.

These home-talent entertainments have proved to be more popular than the attractions we get from the lyceum bureaus, some of which cost $100 a night. We have had audiences of between 400 and 500 people. Many town-folks drive out to their country-neighbors' entertainments. We have found that to the great majority of our people this kind of work is far more attractive than the cheap amusements which they are apt to get outside of the community at the public parks and shows in the surrounding towns.

The pride of the community is our band of athletes. It is a sight to see these husky farmer boys in base-ball suits. We have a number of teams; and if a stranger were to come along almost any Saturday afternoon in the base-ball season, he would find a game in progress near some farm-house. No Sunday base-ball here! It is no less a delight to see a goodly number of country ''fans'' in evidence, from both sides of the house. The annual field-day is one of the notable events of the year. Hundreds of people assemble to witness the athletic contests and its ball-games.

The young men of the church, prompted by a spirit of patriotism, have undertaken to rescue the Fourth of July from the shameful and degrading way in which it is so often celebrated. They plan to make it first of all a day of patriotic inspiration. A good local program is provided, supplemented by the best public speaker that can be secured from outside. Then it is made a social event as well as a day of innocent sports and pastimes. Some of the folks who went last Fourth to an adjacent city, to see a flying-machine that didn't fly, came back in the afternoon to our celebration, saying that it was ''lots better fun'' to watch the country sports.

Come with me now to one of our young men's meetings—the young men's Bible-class. The program for this evening is a mock court-trial. The case in hand is Jones vs. Brown, for assault and battery with intent to do great bodily injury. The judge, very dignified, sits on the bench. Before him are the plaintiff and the defendant, with their favorite attorneys and all the necessary court-officers. The jury is carefully selected; the witnesses are examined; the case is tried in due form; the jury is charged, and the verdict returned. It is needless to say that there is ''a heap of fun'' at such a trial. Besides, the boys learn a great deal about practical affairs, for each is required to look up the duties of his office beforehand and explain to his associates. Perhaps a watermelon is devoured at the close; then the fellows visit and sing for a while and go home feeling that they have had ''a grand time.''

Next time it is something else—an old-fashioned spelling-bee, or a story-night, or what-not. They discuss all sorts of questions and do all sorts of things. There are upward of fifty enrolled in the class now. It also meets every Sunday morning for Bible-study, and these Sunday sessions are quite as well attended as the monthly meetings. It is taught by the pastor. These same lads conduct a lecture-course—not for pecuniary profit, but for the sole purpose of bringing wholesome entertainment within reach of all. Everybody attends, irrespective of creed.

The young men own and operate a small printing-press and (with the assistance of the pastor) do all the church printing. They hold religious meetings and entertainments in the public school-houses during the winter and in a grove during warm weather. In the pastor's absence a number of the men speak at the Sunday service. This class and the young women's class have become great powers in the church. From them we select teachers and officers for the church and Sunday-school.

If you were to accompany me to one of our young women's monthly meetings, you would find thirty or more girls and young women with needles, busily engaged in making little garments for poor children in the city, chatting as they sew. Some members of the society, who have completed courses in sewing, instruct the others. Or, if we arrive in time for the beginning of the meeting, we might find them studying "On the Trial of the Immigrants," "The Uplift of China," "Korea in Transition," or some other live book or subject. This study is sandwiched in between music and devotional exercises. At the proper time, a signal is given and the young ladies arrange their chairs in groups of four and have placed upon their laps lunch-boards laden with good things to eat that have been prepared by the member or members of the society at whose home the meeting is held. Then, home they go. These meetings are much enjoyed by our young women and it is no task to secure their attendance.

You would see similar proceedings at the monthly women's meetings except that (if it were winter) you would find a sprinkling of men in the assembly. The husbands and fathers come—mostly for the sociability afforded, though they do discuss, in a very informal way, the leading topics of the day and the business of farming and stock-raising. The mothers, in addition to their mission-study, consider topics pertaining to housekeeping, the care and training of children, home-building, and other practical subjects. The society has forty members.

We are obliged to minimize the number of meetings held, on account of the great difficulty that country people have in getting together. We have few meetings and make each count for much.

A great deal is made of sociability and fellowship. In fact, the church is practically the social center of the neighborhood. The best socials that we have are those attended by all the family—the older people and the children taking part in the games and the frolic. We are, indeed, just like one family. The mothers come and bring their babies. The little ones romp and play till they grow tired and sleepy; then they are taken to the mothers' room and tucked away in a little bed provided for the purpose—and all goes merrily on.

Perhaps the greatest day in all the year is what we call our "Annual Meeting," which is held on the third Saturday in March. Its principal objects are inspiration and fellowship, and it certainly does give the dead-level gait a severe jolt. It is an all-day meeting, and the whole country-side assembles in full force. The ladies serve a banquet at noon—sometimes to 250 people. We usually have two or three good speakers from outside, besides the best music that our home talent can produce. This is the grand round-up of the year's work. Reports and letters from absent members are read. Some one always speaks tenderly and lovingly of those who have passed away during the year. A blessed day, this!

Other inspirational meetings are held once in awhile for the various societies. One was held recently for the young men's Bible-class and was attended by 100 young men.

A new feature which we are planning for this winter is a number of study courses—in Scientific Farming, Domestic Science, Sociology, and Civil Government. Landscape Gardening will also be taken up with a view to encourage the country people to beautify the environment of their homes.

It is not our intention to make of the church a knowledge-imparting institution, but rather, through it, to foster the spirit of inquiry and to encourage the investigation of truth by supplying the occasion and the opportunity for such investigation. The desire for knowledge and development once inspired, the way is found and things get done.

Symbolical of this new life in Du Page Church and one of our greatest achievements is the new church-home recently dedicated. It cost, including furnishings, $10,000. This building enterprise was a good test of the confidence and the interest which the community has in the church. Everybody gave to the building-fund—Protestants, German-Lutherans, Catholics, and men of no church—and they all helped willingly to haul the materials. A new pace was set in church building by this people when they subscribed all the money before the work of building was begun. No collection was taken at the dedication for building or furnishing purposes.

The new church, with a maximum seating-capacity of 500 people, is a model of neatness and comfort. It has a separate Sunday-school apartment (with a number of class-rooms), pastor's study, choir-room, cloak-rooms, mothers' room, and vestibule—all on the first floor. These floors are all covered with cork carpet. In the basement are the dining-room, kitchen, toilet, and furnace-room. The building is equipped with lighting-plant, water-works, and hot-air furnaces. We entertained the Chicago Presbytery last fall, and the city brethren all said that they had never seen the like of this church in the open country. And, by the way, more yellow-legged chickens entered the ministry that day at Du Page Church than ever before or since!

Three doors in the old structure and twenty-one in the new—that is an intimation of the increased efficiency and of the greater number of avenues of usefulness which this modern country-church seeks to enter. It aims to be of service to the whole man—body, mind, and spirit. It seeks to surround him with an atmosphere that will stimulate him to live his own life and to cultivate a harmonious development of all his faculties and powers.

With all this practical work, the spiritual has not been neglected nor minimized. In fact, more attention has been given to it—in training the youth and in making the public worship attractive and helpful. The people have not grown less religious or less reverent. Quite the opposite. The Sunday services have never been so largely attended nor the interest so well sustained. The membership of the church has increased from 80 to 163, and the Sunday-school from 100 to 300. And, in addition to building the church, remodeling the manse, making other repairs, and increasing the pastor's salary 40 per cent., the people have contributed to benevolences in the last decade $5,270—as against $6,407 contributed during the fifty years preceding.

The effect that this new life is having upon the people of the parish is remarkable. Whole families that formerly had no interest in the church or in the uplift of the community have become active members. Some of them are now officers and leaders. They not only lend their service but they give freely of their means to support the work. Their conception of life is growing larger. They are buying books, pictures and musical instruments. They are installing in their dwellings the modern comforts and conveniences, including the daily newspapers, magazines, and religious weeklies, where formerly there were none of these. Many who once gave nothing to benevolences are now regular contributors. Others that formerly gave but a pittance have grown generous.

We see in the young people a growing ambition to get an education. They seem to be inspired with a determination to make the most out of their lives. The honor students at a neighboring high school in town for the last five years have been young people from our community. A number of these young men and women have taken honors at our State university. Nor is the studying all done in college and away from home. The fireside university is becoming more and more popular.

There is noticeable in the people an increased willingness to take part in the various activities of the community's life, which may be attributed to the fact that they are better prepared for service. A new community-spirit and harmony have sprung up, with a wholesome pride. This has been brought about by making the church serve the whole community rather than minister to a particular part of it.

Whether it be the result of a more abundant life in this vicinity or not, farms here are at a premium. Whenever a farm is advertised for rent, half a dozen applicants are after it the next day. Persons living outside the parish have remarked to pastor and people again and again: "How we wish we lived nearer to your church!" And there has not been in our community the tendency for farmers to sell or rent and move to town.

The greatest achievement of all, however, is the orderly, peace-loving, enterprising community that surrounds the church, and the lot of clean, sturdy, capable young people that are growing up in the church. These are the fruits we covet most and by which we wish to be known and judged.

LAND TENURE AND THE RURAL CHURCH [1]

HENRY WALLACE

THE prosperity of the rural church has in all ages and in all countries been determined largely by the tenure by which farmers hold their lands. A prosperous country church means a relatively large rural population—large enough to support a minister, to push the work of the church vigorously, to impress its ideals of life and character on the community, and to do its part in extending the gospel to outside sections and to foreign lands.

It requires, second, that farming be on an economic basis; that is, that farmers are making money. For the church is always and everywhere supported, not by capital, but by profits; and if the farmer is not making a comfortable living or is sinking his capital, he does not have the means of supporting the church. And if he does not have the means, his will to support the church will be ineffective.

In the third place, the prosperous rural church requires a reasonably stable population. So much of the Christian life lies in Christian relations with neighbors, with employees, with employers, with the whole community life, that a roving farm population cannot, even if it would, develop Christian graces or impress itself favorably on a community of unbelievers. The farm owner who has moved to town and is renting his land cannot be expected to be a real, vital force in the rural church. Nor can the tenant who has a one-year lease, or whose tenure is uncertain, be expected to cultivate the Christian graces by intimate fellowship with his neighbors and associates or fellow church-members; in other words, to take root in the community and become a part of it.

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[1] Adapted from "The Church and Country Life," pp. 232–242, Missionary Education Movement of the U. S. and Canada, New York City, 1916.

One thing more. The prosperous country church requires that there be an agreement among the members as to the big things for which the church stands: the sinfulness of men; the possibility of redemption from sinfulness; growth in Christian graces; the efficiency of the gospel to make better husbands, better wives, better parents, better children, better farmers, better business men, better neighbors, better citizens. Success need not be expected if minor things of which Jesus said nothing and upon which the apostles laid no emphasis, such as forms of church government and modes of baptism, are regarded as the essential things for which the church stands. If the church is to be successful, there must be toward these matters a body of sentiment which makes hearty coöperation and Christian fellowship possible.

These, as I see it, are the conditions of the prosperous rural church. These conditions prevailed when the rural church was in the height of its prosperity in the early part of the last century. There was then a dense population per square mile in the settled portions of the country, because the farmer was then a child of the woods, hewing his way painfully through the forests of the Eastern and Middle States, and requiring a lifetime to clear up a quarter section or even an eighty. He was a man of the ax and cradle and scythe and flail. Rural congregations were large then; and the spirit of the farmer of that day is reflected in the names that he gave to his church,—names fragrant of the spirit of piety and devotion and showing close acquaintance with the Bible,—Bethel, Rehoboth, Mount Zion, Ebenezer.

There was then no pull to the city, for the cities were small, as they must needs be, since there was not the wherewithal to feed a large city population, nor adequate means of transportation. Labor was cheap, land was cheap, living was cheap; and the farm was mainly a means of supporting a large family cheaply. There was no landlord, no tenants. While no one was getting rich, all but the incompetent were getting ahead, and the minister was the outstanding big man in the community—"guide, philosopher, and friend" to all, a consoler in sickness or sorrow, an adviser in trouble. There was unity as to the great doctrines of Christianity. Not that all were agreed; but the various nationalities, with their forms of worship and religious thought and customs, grouped themselves together in localities—the Pennsylvania Dutch here, the Scotch and Scotch-Irish there, the Quakers elsewhere, the Yankees in other groups.

All this changed when the farmer emerged from the woods and drew long furrows in the rich, fertile soil of the prairies; and still greater was the change when, at the close of the war, the government gave one hundred and sixty acres of land at the cost of surveying ($1.25 an acre) to any landless man in the wide world who wanted it and who would become a citizen of the United States.

Then began the rush for these cheap lands, a rush from New England, from the Middle States, from the South, and from Europe. The farming population began a game of leap-frog. The church organizations, awake to the importance of securing a foothold in this new land, pushed their missionary enterprises, aiming to occupy strategic points. The result was a mingling together of men who, while they agreed on fundamentals, gave special importance to distinctives; and a still further result was the overchurching of the entire prairie country.

Then the rural church began to decline; for the introduction of railroads and of farm machinery and a far greater use of horse power decreased rural population per square mile. It has constantly been decreasing ever since from purely economic causes. Still the rural church did fairly well, although gradually declining in the size and number of congregations, until the last thirty years, when another set of economic conditions began to render it less efficient.

When thoughtful men began to see that there was no more choice land to be given away; when the great growth of city population not merely in the United States but in the Old World (the result of cheap food furnished by the farmers of the United States at less than the cost of growing it) began to bring the price of grain up to the cost of production and above it, land began to advance. In the corn belt, the wheat belt, and the fruit belt land has increased at the rate of about 10 per cent. per annum.

The country church then began to decline more rapidly. Farmers began to rent their farms and move to town. Capitalists began to invest in lands as soon as the net income would equal the interest on savings, and speculators began to buy land far in advance of its productive value, on the assumption that this 10 per cent. per annum increase in price would continue. One result of this was an enormous increase in tenancy, until about 37½ per cent. of the tillable lands of the United States was farmed by tenants. In the corn belt from 40 to 50 per cent. of the land is farmed by tenants, and in the cotton belt from 50 to 70 per cent.

Meanwhile the use of improved machinery and of horse power instead of man power tended to increase the size of farms and to decrease the population per square mile. A recent investigation by the Iowa Agricultural Department shows that, while the increase in the size of farms that are farmed by their owners is less than 4 per cent., the increase in the size of those farmed by tenants is 16 per cent. It shows further that in sections in which land is bought for speculation tenancy has increased very rapidly. We have three main classes of landlords: retired farmers, capitalists, and speculators, or speculating capitalists; and the lands of all these classes are necessarily farmed by tenants.

Inasmuch as we have not yet really begun to farm in the West, but are simply mining our soil and selling its fertility (at present at a profit), the tenure of the tenant is mainly for one year; this condition makes about 45 per cent. of the population of the open country in Iowa more or less unstable. The tenant who goes into a new community for a year does not usually align himself with a church unless he is a man of very positive religious convictions. Neither does the church look upon the tenant as anything more than a pilgrim and a stranger, and hence it is apt to think it not worth while to gather him into the fold.

Another influence is powerfully effective. Members of churches who bought land, especially in the corn belt, at from $25 to $50 an acre thirty years ago, could not resist the temptation to harvest the unearned increment and invest it in the newer lands of the spring wheat belt, or the plains, or the Northwest. They moved to the new country, taking their families with them. This has decreased the financial ability of the congregation of the country church, has reduced the salary of the minister to the starvation point, or has perhaps compelled the congregation to have preaching for but one-half or one-third of the time, and in certain sections, for only one-fourth of the time. This deprives the community of the pastoral labor and the example of a Christian leader and his family; and the result is that the church declines and then dies. In fact, the churches in the towns of the corn belt are largely built up by the removal of members of country churches to the towns.

The farms are becoming larger, and the population of the rural community smaller and more unstable because of tenantry. The population remaining is divided up into various denominations and sects through difference of opinion about church government and baptism and other things, the inheritance of a past generation.

There are two remedies for this condition, one industrial and the other spiritual. Neither is capable of instant application, but each is certainly applicable in the somewhat distant future. The first is such a system of leasing as will make the tenant a reasonably permanent citizen in the community,—in other words, longer leases. Tenancy is not in itself an evil, but uncertainty of tenure and short leases are evils that vex humanity. We cannot expect to see a prosperous rural church until the tenant can make some arrangement with his landlord by which he can stay on the same farm indefinitely, take root in the community, become an active member of the church, and make of his children real members of the Sunday-school and rural school. Economic causes themselves will force upon the landowner this system of longer leases. The constant decrease of soil fertility through the bad farming of the short-lease tenant and the fact now becoming evident that it it more profitable to the enterprising farmer to rent land than to own it, must work for the greater permanency of the tenant. The first will wipe out speculation and reduce land values in the richer sections until it will be possible for the tenant by renting land to become the owner of the land. This will give us a stable population and greatly increase the efficiency of the rural church.

The second remedy is in the change of view of the Christian ideal. We must now get back to the original Christian idea: that salvation is for every man and for every part of the man—body, soul, and spirit; that it involves loving "thy neighbor as thyself," and coöperation in every good work instead of competition. A church united on the fundamentals, and with a reasonably permanent tenure of lands by ownership or lease, will enable us in time to build up a civilization on the prairies and the cleared timber lands more satisfying than that which can be found anywhere else on earth.

RURAL ECONOMY AS A FACTOR IN THE SUCCESS OF THE CHURCH[1]

THOMAS N. CARVER

It may be laid down as a general law of rural economy that the productive land in any farming community will tend to pass more and more into the hands of those who can cultivate it most efficiently,—that is, into the hands of the most efficient farmers,—unless it is prevented from doing so by some kind of military force exercised by an aristocratic ruling class. In a democratic country, like the United States, where there are so few impediments in the way of the free transfer of land, we need look for nothing else. The men who can make the land produce the most will be able to pay the most for it, and in the end they will get it and hold it. This looks simple enough, no doubt, and may not at first seem to signify much, but it is weighted with consequences of the most stupendous and far-reaching character,—consequences which it would be suicidal for the church to ignore.

It means simply and literally that the rural districts are never to be thoroughly Christianized until Christians become, as a rule, better farmers than non-Christians. If it should happen that Christians should become really better farmers than non-Christians, the land will pass more and more into the possession of Christians, and this will become a Christian country, at least so far as the rural districts are concerned. The first result would probably be to paganize the cities, since the non-Christians displaced from the rural districts by their superior competitors would take refuge in the towns. But since nature has a way of exterminating town populations in three or four generations, and the towns have therefore to be continuously recruited from the country, the Christianizing of the rural districts would eventually mean the Christianizing of the towns also. But, *vice versa*, if non-Christians should become the better farmers, by reason of some false philosophy or supercilious attitude toward material wealth and economic achievement on the part of the church, then this would eventually become a non-Christian country, for the same reason.

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[1] Adapted from American Unitarian Association, Social Service Bulletin No. 8., 25 Beacon St., Boston.

But if, as a third possibility, there should be no perceptible difference between Christians and non-Christians as to their knowledge and adaptability, or as to their general fitness to survive and possess the earth,—fitness, that is, as determined by nature's standard rather than by some artificial standard of our own devising,—the result would be that Christians would remain indefinitely a mere sect in the midst of a non-Christian or a nondescript population. The only way of avoiding this rather unsatisfactory situation would be to force the whole population into a nominal Christianity by military force. But, assuming that physical force is not to be used, and that the ordinary economic forces are to operate undisturbed by such violent means, then the contention will hold. This is what is likely to happen if certain religious leaders should succeed in identifying Christianity with millinery, or with abstract formulæ respecting the visible world, or with mere loyalty to an organization, rather than with rational conduct. By rational conduct is meant that kind of conduct which conserves human energy and enables men to fulfill their mission of subduing the earth and ruling over it, which enables them to survive in the struggle with nature, which is the essence of all genuine morality.

But why confine these observations to agriculture and rural economy? Are not the conditions of economic success the same in the city as in the country? And must not religion prevail over irreligion in the city as well as in the country, provided religion secures a greater conservation of human energy than irreligion secures? In a certain very broad sense, or in the long run—with a great deal of emphasis upon the word "long"—that is probably true. But the conditions of individual economic success in cities are so complex, there are so many opportunities . . .

> "for ways that are dark
> And for tricks that are vain"

as to obscure, if not to obliterate entirely, the working of this law.

In agriculture one must wrest a living from nature, and nature cannot be tricked or deluded. But a large element of city populations,—and generally they are the dominant element,—get their living out of other people; and people are easily deceived. Instead of laboring to make two blades of grass to grow where one had grown before, their business is to make two dollars emerge from other people's pockets where one had emerged before. Neither impudence, nor a smooth tongue, nor a distinguished manner, nor lurid rhetoric, ever yet made an acre of land to yield a larger crop of grain; but they have frequently made an office, a sanctum, a platform, and even a pulpit yield a larger crop of dollars. They who get their living out of other people must, of necessity, interest those other people, and men are so constituted that queer and abnormal things are more interesting to them than the usual and the normal. They will pay money for the privilege of seeing a two-headed calf, when a normal calf would not interest them at all. The dime museum freak makes money by showing to our interested gaze his physical abnormalities. He is an economic success in that he makes a good living by it, but it does not follow that he is the type of man who is fitted to survive or that religion ought to try to produce. Other men, going under the names of artists, novelists, or dramatists, of certain nameless schools, make very good livings by revealing to interested minds their mental and moral abnormalities. They, like the dime museum freaks, are economic successes in that they make good livings, but it does not follow that they are the type of man fitted to survive or that religion ought to try to produce. This type of economic success is an urban rather than a rural type, and it flourishes under urban rather than rural conditions. So long as it flourishes there is no reason why religious men who conserve their energies for productive service should succeed in crowding them out of existence. The only chance of attaining that end will be for religion to give people a saner appreciation of things, teach them to be more interested in normal calves than in two-headed calves, in normal men than in dime museum freaks, in sane writers than in certain degenerate types now holding the attention of the gaping crowd. If this can be brought about, then it will result that the religious type of man, even in cities, will more and more prevail over the irreligious, provided the religion itself is worth preserving,—that is, provided it becomes a positive factor in the conservation of human energy.

As has already been suggested, there is a great deal more involved in making a good farmer than in the teaching of scientific agriculture. Mr. Benjamin Kidd has done well to emphasize the importance of moral qualities as compared with intellectual achievements. In the first place, intellectual achievements, or their results, can only be utilized where there is a sane and wholesome morality as a basis. In the second place, the results of intellectual achievement of one race or one man may be borrowed freely by the rest of the world, provided the rest of the world have the moral qualities which will enable them to profit by them; whereas moral qualities can not be borrowed from one race by another. Japan, for example, could easily borrow from European nations the art of modern warfare, together with its instruments of destruction; but it did not borrow, and could not borrow, that splendid courage and discipline which enabled her to utilize so efficiently the inventions which she borrowed. So, one nation can easily borrow farm machinery and modern methods of agriculture, but it cannot borrow the moral qualities which will enable it to profit by them. Saying nothing of mental alertness and willingness to learn, which might be classed as mental rather than moral, it could not borrow that patient spirit of toil, nor that sturdy self-reliance, nor that forethought which sacrifices present enjoyment to future profit, nor can it borrow that spirit of mutual helpfulness which is so essential to any effective rural work. Again, a nation cannot easily borrow a sane and sober reason, a willingness to trust to its own care in preparing the soil rather than to the blessing of the priest upon the fields, nor can it borrow a general spirit of enterprise which ventures out upon plans and projects which approve themselves to the reason. And, finally, it cannot borrow that love for the soil, and the great outdoors and the growing crops, and the domestic animals which marks every successful rural people. These things have to be developed in the soil, to be bred into the bone and fiber of the people; and they are the first requisites for good farming. After them come scientific knowledge. In the development of such moral qualities as these the church has been, and may become again, the most effective agency.

It is said that the great problem of the country church is that of an adequate support of the ministry. But how can the ministry be adequately supported? One obvious answer is to reduce the number of churches. This is a good answer, perhaps that is the easiest way; but it is the second best way. Another way is to build up the community in order that it may furnish adequate membership and adequate support for all the churches. This may be a harder way, but where it is not impossible, it is the best.

Of course there should be continued emphasis, in the teachings of the church and the pulpit, upon the plain economic virtues of industry, sobriety, thrift, practical, scientific knowledge, and mutual helpfulness; but much more emhasis than hitherto should be placed on the last two. Practical, scientific knowledge of agriculture, and mutual helpfulness in the promotion of the welfare of the parish are absolutely essential, and unless the churches can help in this direction they will remain poor and inadequately supported. For those who think that the church should hold itself above the work of preaching the kind of conduct which pays, or the kind of life which succeeds, the economic law stated above, is the strongest argument.

Organized efforts in the churches for the study of parish economy, for gaining more and more scientific knowledge of agriculture, for the practical kind of Christian brotherhood which shows itself in the form of mutual helpfulness and coöperation, in the form of decreasing jealousy and suspicion, in the form of greater public spirit, greater alertness for opportunities for promoting the public good and building up the parish and the community, in helping young men and young women to get started in productive work and in home building, in helping the children to get the kind of training which will enable them to make a better living in the parish,—efforts of this kind will eventually result in better support for the churches themselves, because the community will then be able to support the church more liberally; and, what is more important, it will then see that the church is worth supporting.

THE CHURCH SITUATION IN OHIO[1]

C. O. GILL

THE rural church survey of Ohio now complete is the first church survey covering an entire state. The state contains in its area of 40,000 square miles some 1,388 townships. Reports are at hand from every one of these. If we exclude the townships in which the population is urban, those in which there are villages of more than 2,500 inhabitants and those in which are parts of large town or city parishes, there are in the state about 1,200 townships which may be classed as rural. In these townships there are more than 6,000 rural churches and more than a million and three quarters persons. In each there is on an average a population of 1,470, while there are five churches, a church to every 286 persons.

It must not be inferrred, however, that there is an even distribution of the churches. As a matter of fact, in many districts, there are not enough of them. How excessive the overchurching is in some regions may be well illustrated by the condition in Morgan County. Meigsville Township with a population of 846 persons has nine churches or one church to 94 persons. Union, another township in this county with a population of 1,048 persons, also has nine churches. Neither township has a resident pastor. This is true of seven townships in the county. In these seven townships there are 41 churches or one church to 142 persons.

The significance of the excessive number of churches can only be appreciated by coming into close contact with the communities themselves. Very rarely have I visited an overchurched community in the country without finding a condition of harmful competition often resulting in an anæmic condition of the religious institutions. In most of the communities several churches are trying to do what one church, if left to itself, could do far more effectively. Under present conditions the churches commonly constitute the greatest obstacle to progress they themselves have to encounter. According to data gathered by the Ohio Rural Life Survey, the churches, as a rule, whose membership is less than 100 do not prosper, while the smaller the membership the greater the proportion of the churches which are dying; yet in rural Ohio it appears that more than 4,000 churches have a membership of 100 or less, more than 3,000 a membership of 75 or less, more than 2,000 a membership of 50 or less.

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[1] Adapted from a preliminary report of a state wide survey made by the Commission on Church and Country Life of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in coöperation with the Ohio Rural Life Assn. Pub. Missionary Edu. Movement of the U. S. and Canada, N. Y.

Membership must not be confused with attendance. I have personally visited a considerable number of churches on Sundays, have counted their congregations and have compared the attendance with the membership. In this State I have, in no case, found the attendance as large as the membership. In this respect the best record in any church I have attended is that of a church whose membership is sixty and the attendance forty. In one church the membership was 125, the attendance 34; in another church the membership 300, the attendance 136.

One of the striking facts brought to light through the survey is the lack of an adequate number of resident ministers. While a reasonable degree of interchurch coöperation should result in the maintenance of a resident pastor in nearly every inhabited township, at the present time the church falls far short of realizing this possibility. In fact nearly 4,000 or about two-thirds of the churches in rural Ohio are without resident ministers. In 26 per cent. of the townships no church has a resident pastor.

More than 5,000 of the churches are without the undivided service of a minister. More than 2,200 churches have only one-fourth of a minister's service or less, more than 3,300 have only one-third of a minister's service or less, while more than 700 have no part of a minister's service. These figures do not take into consideration the fact that a considerable number of the ministers have other occupations than the ministry. I personally have met several ministers who have secular occupations and yet are each serving two or more country churches.

One of the most striking features of the situation is the fact that whereas there are superintendents who are responsible for the supervision of churches of their own denominations, there is no superintendent, or official, who accepts responsibility for the general moral and spiritual conditions in any considerable area. However bad condidtions in a county or region may be there is no organization or person whose business it is to know about it. Consequently decadence and degeneration may go on in an extensive territory without any responsible body or responsible person becoming aware of it. The defectiveness of the organization of the church, as a whole, therefore, demands our serious consideration and the application of a remedy. On the other hand the promise in a movement such as is now on foot under the auspices of the Ohio Rural Life Association and its Committee on Interchurch Coöperation is a cause for congratulation. It may be presumed that in some areas conditions existing to-day would never have come to pass had the church, itself, as a whole, been aware of what was going on.

Areas of the most pronounced ecclesiastical decline and moral degeneration are found in some of the eastern, southeastern and southern counties. A striking illustration of the failure of our present church organization appears in one of these southern counties. The aim of the typical and most influential religious leaders in this county is to stir up an emotional excitement without regard to its effect upon character. These religious leaders apparently are not conscious of an ethical end. By the use of music well adapted to the end sought, by adaptation of the voice, sometimes even by the use of the hypnotic eye and suggestion of emotional experience to be expected, an excitement is produced which is accepted as a substitute for the more worthy aims of religion. They report additions to the membership of the churches and even the organization and building of churches. The so-called evangelist at the end of a period of protracted meetings leaves the locality having accomplished no good thing. He returns period after period, season after season, year after year and the same activities are repeated. This has displaced a more wholesome type of church life with disastrous results to the community. For at least fifteen years this type of religion has been gaining in popular favor, while it is displacing other forms of religious activities.

In the year 1883 there were 96 churches in this county. In the following thirty years there were 1,500 religious revivals or on an average fifty each year. During that period there was a decline of no less than five hundred in the membership of the churches, while thirty-four churches were abandoned; the production of corn declined from thirty-four to twenty-eight bushels to the acre; a larger proportion of the population are afflicted with tuberculosis than in any similar area in the United States; a trained hygienic expert who has made careful investigations declares that the prevalence both of infectious disease and feeble-mindedness is extreme; politics are corrupt, the selling of votes common, petty crimes abound, the schools are badly managed and poorly attended while there is much illiteracy.

The itinerant evangelists who come into the county each year are the chief religious leaders. The ministers who live in the county usually remain but a year. They have several churches each and direct their efforts to increasing the membership of the particular churches they serve. They have no intimate relation with the people and exert very little influence upon them. One minister serves no less than ten churches.

The type of religion here described is strongly intrenched in parts of many counties while its influence through the migration of farm laborers is seriously affecting the religious and social life in some of the more prosperous and progressive counties. In one of these in an area of sixteen miles long and from seven to eleven miles wide there are three abandoned but no living churches. One of the causes of this condition is the fact that the farm laborers, imported by the owners of large tracts of land, have never been made familiar with a normal type of religion. Investigation has disclosed the fact that they come from the regions where the excessively emotional type of religion prevails.

In no less than nine counties conditions such as we have described may be found in localities. In two of the counties homicides are common and frequently go unpunished. In Vinton County there are two Mormon Churches. It has been truly said that in this southeastern section of the State our civilization is not being conserved.

A fairly good community, typical of a considerable area, may be found in a certain township in the northwestern section of the state. In this township one-half of the inhabitants are descendants of the early settlers who came from New England. The traditions of these people are good, but they are too conservative to encourage progress in agriculture. The other half of the population consists of farmers coming mostly from the western part of the state or from still farther west. These are progressive, but in applying the methods of farming to which they have been accustomed under different conditions they sometimes fail. They have a fairly good centralized school and desire to have good educational facilities. Little is done to encourage the social life of the community, nothing for the promotion of scientific agriculture or to promote the general welfare of the community outside of what little is done in the school. Formerly it was the custom to have at least one resident pastor in the community, but for ten years or more they have had none. There are three churches, the Methodist Episcopal with forty-eight, the Disciples with forty-three families, represented in their membership, and a Baptist Church with a membership of only three, but holding a Sunday School of considerable size. In this township there are forty vacant houses. Large numbers of the farms are very imperfectly cultivated, yet it is said by an agricultural expert that drainage and scientific farming will greatly add to the production and the wealth of the township.

THE GENOA PARISH, WALWORTH COUNTY[1]

REV. A. PH. KREMER

THERE can be no doubt of the fact that a closer union of the country population will not only make life in the country more attractive, but will also stimulate mental development and promote Christian charity.

From the standpoint of mental and moral advancement, the country church is the most prominent factor in uniting people whose homes are often miles apart. By reuniting them, it brings them into closer contact with one another, thereby creating social life of a high standard and fostering the social intercourse so necessary to the average man.

Let me say now that I consider it a great misfortune that the members of a parish should be brought together only for the purpose of raising money for church purposes. There should be gatherings whose object is not replenishing the church treasury.

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[1] Adapted from Third Annual Report of the Wisconsin Country Life Conference, pp. 46–7, Univ. of Wis., Madison, Jan., 1913.

The parish has five distinct means of bringing people together. The first of these is the parish school. Children living in various school districts meet daily in the school-room and thereby naturally extend the horizon of their friendships along broader lines. All school festivals bring in the parents of these children, thus one common interest unites both parents and children.

After the school years are over the boys and girls join the junior divisions of the young people's societies. Once a month they hold regular meetings, listen to conferences adapted to their conditions of life, arrange little social affairs, and, when old enough, are admitted into the young men's or young women's sodalities.

The church is the real social center for these young people. They furnish the material for the choir and the dramatic club. Once a month they meet for the purpose of mental and spiritual culture; they have a circulating library of choice books. Every Sunday after Mass the librarian is at hand to give out books, and as the young people meet here they naturally speak of the merits or shortcomings of the books they have read.

Cinch parties and spreads are arranged at times, when the young people—practically all of them—meet and spend an afternoon or evening in the most pleasant manner, without any other thought than that of giving and enjoying what they call a "jolly good time."

The married people meet once a month for moral improvement, and, at odd times during the year, for social pleasure. I remember one occasion on which the married ladies were the guests, and the married men the hosts. It would have done your hearts good to have seen these sedate men, decked in the uniforms of waiters and cooks, receive their guests, seat them, and wait on them in the most solemn manner.

Once a year a picnic is held; the whole congregation, neighbors and friends meet in the forenoon and spend the whole day in any way they choose. The men sit together, smoke, and talk politics and farming; the married women sit in groups with their babies playing around them, exchanging views on every topic. The young people play ball, tennis, bean bag, or any other game their fancy suggests, till the declining day reminds them of the races. Then old and young assemble to witness or to take part in the various tests of strength, swiftness, and athletic ability. No chances are sold, no money demanded. Every one spends what he wishes and feels sure that he gets full value for the money he pays.

One word must be said about the buildings. The school has two adjoining rooms separated by a movable partition. The larger room may readily be used as an auditorium, as a movable stage can be erected in the smaller room, the partition removed, the school desks taken to the basement of the school and chairs put in their places. Thus the school is changed into an auditorium with a stage complete in all its appointments. After the performance is over. the stage is taken down and stored away, and the desks replaced, the whole not requiring more than two or three hours of work.

The basement of the church has a furnace and fuel room, a large kitchen furnished with everything needed in the line of cooking utensils and desks, a large dining-room with large dining tables and three hundred chairs. The dining-room and the kitchen are never used for any other purpose, and are therefore always in readiness.

RURAL WORK OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION[1]

ALBERT E. ROBERTS AND HENRY ISRAEL

The county work, or rural department of the Young Men's Christian Association seeks to unite in a town, village, rural community, or in the open country the vital forces of young manhood for self-improvement, physically, socially, mentally, and spiritually, and to give expression to these resources in community life for the betterment of others.

It considers its legitimate field to include all communities that are too small to maintain the city type of Young Men's Christian Association work, generally conceded to include towns of four thousand and under. Experience has proved that its best work is done, however, in communities in which the rural environment dominates the community ideals. It therefore is a movement which must be determined from the standpoint of qualitative rather than quantitative values. There are 45,000 such communities in the United States and Canada with a combined population of over 12,000,000, thus including over 60 per cent. of the boyhood and young manhood in this field. There are 2,000 counties considered organizable in the United States and 500 in Canada on the present basis of organization and type of work.

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[1] Adapted from *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1912, pp. 140–9.

The term ''county work'' is applied to this movement because the county already affords a ready geographical unit for constructive work. Counties have distinctive traditions of their own social elements and existing organizations of a county-wide character. As the result of repeated failures in individual communities apart from other communities, a county-wide organization commanding the combined resources of men and money within the county, made possible in community life that which could not have been accomplished independently.

There are two factors that enter into this plan so essential to success—volunteer effort and expert supervision. The voluntary organization, the county committee, consisting of from fifteen to twenty prominent business and professional men and successful farmers, constitute the administrative unit and clearing house for policies and programs for the country-wide activities as well as for individual communities. These county committeemen are selected with great care, primarily meeting one of two qualifications: to be able to command resources of their own to promote this work for a period of years, or to possess such influence as to command the resources of others, both in time and money. They all must stand for the best things in community life, be vitally related to the church, to the school and other agencies that make for community progress. They constitute a voluntary body not unlike the faculty of a university at one time, of the health board of the county in another instance, as the clearing house for a religious campaign at another time, as a voluntary body of commissioners to advance the specific interests of a county, and in no uncertain degree to measure out their best judgement frequently along the lines of advancing the agricultural or economic interests. Therefore, the county committee assigns these various aspects of its work to sub-committees, each of which renders its report at the quarterly meeting of the county committee which works in close contact with the employed secretary and trained experts. The county committee is responsible for a budget varying from $2,000 to $6,000 annually secured by voluntary contributions, which enables it to employ a secretary who is a trained expert as their executive officer. Thus the work is correlated and coördinated and a central clearing house is established through which any community and every community may find help and counsel in promoting its internal welfare. In many instances the county committee has thus saved a community from expensive and painful experiences that have been previously proven impracticable.

The County Secretary. He is usually the fittest type of the college man, often not only a college graduate, but also with some special training. He is a man who likes country life and believes in the country and has great faith in the immediate future of the rural districts. He is usually a man of large capacity for leadership, with a broad knowledge of human nature and a fine friendliness as well as an earnest Christian purpose and a great longing to help country boys and young men to well developed Christian manhood. He is in a real sense a community builder. As he is employed by a voluntary organization, his services and his largest contribution to a county will be in reproducing his expert knowledge and experience in volunteer service. Therefore, his primary task is to discover, enlist, train, and utilize leadership. He is also a servant. Pastors, Sunday School superintendents and teachers, public school superintendents and day school teachers, fathers and mothers, granges, farmers' clubs and institutes, women's clubs and many other organizations seek his coöperation and advice. In the individual community having discovered leaders and set them at work, he executes the plans and policies adopted by the county committee through volunteer leadership. His relationship is with the few men who are the leaders rather than with the massses. In addition to the county secretaries some of the older and larger counties are employing assistant secretaries, physical directors, boys' work directors, etc. There are now fifty such secretaries in forty-nine counties.

County work is not an attempt to build up a new organization in country communities. It recognizes as the primary institutions of the community, the home, the school, and the church. Many other supplemental organizations are doing splendid work, but the aforementioned are recognized as fundamental. It is also a fact that though these are the primary institutions, they are in many cases functioning inadequately, or have ceased to perform their function entirely. Again, in supplementary organizations which are found in country life many are overlapping and even working at cross purposes. There seems to be no well defined or unified policy. Furnishing a common platform upon which the various interests of the people will find expression and where these interests can come together in a democratic spirit is the unifying task of the county work in organized counties. It stands for the elimination of waste, for the interpretation of the real needs after surveys have been made, for the assumption of specific tasks by specific individuals and communities. It gives itself to the awakening of a social consciousness, a getting together; it seeks to supplement and not to supplant. If it can persuade a leader to supervise the plan and athletics of a school, or a farmer to give his boy a man's chance, it has made a contribution to the community life, and its leaders are as well satisfied as they would be if a new organization were formed.

COUNTY WORK OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION[1]

JESSIE FIELD

Just as country life is at the very foundation of our national life in many ways, so the young womanhood of the country holds a place of strategic importance, both in the country, and for service to womankind everywhere. The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association with its plan of service to girls and young women everywhere, realizing this, and thinking of the many girls in country communities, began about eight years ago to work definitely towards making all the resources of the Association available to them.

This has been done through work in the development of leadership for country communities in student centers and through organized county Associations. Voluntary study courses in Country Life Leadership, with the text book "College Women and Country Leadership" as a basis, have been taken by thousands of college women, the majority of whom have gone back to lead clubs of girls in their home communities during the summer. Such classes as these have, also, been held in the summer conferences. These classes have not only given more knowledge in regard to country conditions but have definitely enlisted a great many strong young women in active, sacrificial service.

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[1] From a statement prepared at request of editor.

Through the organized County Young Women's Christian Associations, trained leadership is made available through the county secretary and the volunteer leaders of the county with whom she works, for the girls and young women of the county. Local resources are made use of; programs for social, educational, physical and spiritual growth are planned; recreational features are made a constructive force; while county Camps, Conferences, and so forth, bring a chance for a wider community and more friendships for the girls of the county. Through coöperation with the homes, the schools and the churches, the best things are made available for the girls.

There are now twenty-three such organized counties in the United States and the number is rapidly growing. Seven field secretaries are at work on this special part of the Association work in different parts of the United States.

TEN YEARS' PROGRESS IN COUNTY Y. M. C. A. WORK IN MICHIGAN[1]

C. L. ROWE

THE County Y. M. C. A. has evolved a policy that is applicable to the field, town, village and rural community. It uses resident forces, makes its appeal on the basis of service, coöperates with existing agencies and develops the individual through group service. A comparison of the growth in the last ten years is as follows:

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[1] Publication of Rural School Department of Western State Normal School, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

	1905	1916
Counties organized	1	16
Organized communities	8	159
Secretaries employed	1	18
Money expended annually	$1,500	$36,000
Members	170	3,421
Summer camps	20	600
Attended Boys' Conferences	40	2,300
Agricultural contestants	—	625
In physical activities	140	6,452

THE CALL OF THE COUNTRY PARISH[1]

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

The country-side is calling, calling for men. Vexing problems of labor and of life disturb our minds in country as in city. The workers of the land are striving to make a better use of their resources of soil and climate, and are seeking both larger wealth and a higher welfare. The striving and the seeking raise new questions of great public concern. Social institutions have developed to meet these new issues. But the great need of the present is leadership. Only men can vitalize institutions. We need leaders among the farmers themselves, we need leaders in education, leaders in organization and coöperation. So the country church is calling for men of God to go forth to war against all the powers of evil that prey upon the hearts of the men who live upon the land, as well as upon the people in palace and tenement.

The country church wants men of vision, who see through the incidental, the small, the transient, to the fundamental, the large, the abiding issues that the countryman must face and conquer.

She wants practical men, who seek the mountain top by the obscure and steep paths of daily toil and real living, men who can bring things to pass, secure tangible results.

She wants original men, who can enter a human field poorly tilled, much grown to brush, some of it of diminished fertility, and by new methods can again secure a harvest that will gladden the heart of the great Husbandman.

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[1] "The Country Church and the Rural Problem," pp. 131–133. University of Chicago Press, 1912.

She wants aggressive men, who do not hesitate to break with tradition, who fear God more than prejudice, who regard institutions as but a means to an end, who grow frequent crops of new ideas and dare to winnow them with the flails of practical trial.

She wants trained men, who come to their work with knowledge and with power, who have thought long and deeply upon the problems of rural life, who have hammered out a plan for an active campaign for the rural church.

She wants men with enthusiasms, whose energy can withstand the frosts of sloth, of habit, of pettiness, of envy, of back-biting, and whose spirit is not quenched by the waters of adversity, of unrealized hopes, of tottering schemes.

She wants persistent men, who will stand by their task amid the mysterious calls from undiscovered lands, the siren voices of ambition and ease, the withering storms of winters of discontent.

She wants constructive men, who can transmute visions into wood and stone, dreams into live institutions, hopes into fruitage.

She wants heroic men, men who possess a "tart, cathartic virtue," men who love adventure and difficulty, men who can work alone with God and suffer no sense of loneliness.

SECTARIANISM[1]

THE growth of sectarianism is shown by the number of denominations found in rural communities. The following is taken from a study made under the direction of Dr. Warren H. Wilson, showing the number of churches in six counties in Ohio.

Denominations	No. of Churches
Apostolic Holiness	7
Baptist—	
Missionary Baptist	47
Free Will	14
Union	5
Colored	4
Regular	3
Primitive Baptist	1
Separate Baptist	1

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[1] From Dept. Church and Country Life, Bd. Home Missions, Presbyterian Church, N. Y.

Brethren	2
Brothers Society of America	1
Catholic (Roman)	10
Christian	19
Christian Order	1
Christian Union	15
Church of Christ in Christian Union	2
Church of God (Saints)	4
Come Outers	1
Congregational	11
Disciples, Non-Progressive	7
Emanuel Mission	1
Episcopal	1
Evangelical Association	3
Evangelical Protestant	3
Friends	3
Latter Day Saints	4
Lutheran	7
Mennonite	2
Methodist—	
Methodist Episcopal	175
Methodist Protestant	33
Free Methodist	6
Wesleyan Methodist	2
German M. E.	1
African M. E.	1
Nazarenes	1
Presbyterians—	
Presbyterian U. S. A.	36
United Presbyterian	5
United Brethren—	
United Brethren, Liberal	51
United Brethren, Radical	6
Universalist	4

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COUNTRY CHURCH FUNCTION, POLICY AND PROGRAM

Kenyon L. Butterfield, *Chairman.*
Charles O. Gill.
Miss Jessie Field.
Albert E. Roberts.
Henry Wallace.

Your Committee began its study on the assumption that there were three aspects of the work of the country church that needed stating:

1. A definition of the *function* of the country church, in order to gain if possible a clear notion of what the fundamental work of the church is, particularly in relation to the work of other social institutions.

2. An outline of a *general policy* for the country church as a whole, in trying to carry out its function.

3. A suggestive *program*, embodying many concrete plans and suggestions for the work of the local church, appropriate to the carrying out of the general policy.

THE FUNCTION OF THE COUNTRY CHURCH

God's great purpose for men is the highest possible development of each personality and of the human race as a whole. It is essential to this growth that men shall hold adequate ideals of character and life. The Christian believes that these ideals must spring from a clear appreciation of God's purpose, and from a consuming desire to reproduce the spirit and life of Jesus.

Therefore, the function of the country church is to create, to maintain, and to enlarge both individual and community ideals, under the inspiration and guidance of the Christian motive and teaching, and to help rural people to incarnate these ideals in personal and family life, in industrial effort, in political development, and in all social relationships.

The church must bring men to God, must lead in the task of building God's Kingdom on Earth.

The mission of the Christian church is that of its Founder: To teach the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as the ideal of life for the individual, the family, the community, and the nation, and to point out the best way to make the ideal the actual.

THE WORK OF THE COUNTRY CHURCH

The Committee has divided the work of the country church into the following heads:

1. Knowledge.
2. Preaching and worship.
3. Religious education.
4. The Church ministering to all the people.
5. The Church, the servant of the community.

6. Coöperation among the churches.
7. Division of labor.
8. Administration and finance.
9. The preacher and his helpers.
10. The preacher, a community builder.
11. The country church circuit.

Under each one of these heads there is:

1. A statement of general policy:

Intended to apply to the church as a whole, or to any church. This policy is expected to be broad enough on the one hand to make the church "function," and on the other hand practical enough to serve as a guide for local church work.

2. A program for the local church:

This is by no means complete, but is a list of specific things that might be done by the local church. Probably no one church will do all of them, but every church can do some of them. Each church should adapt its program to its own needs and conditions, but should always test the program in the light of a broad policy.

3. Suggestions and examples:

Under this head there is given a list of practical helps, either indicating literature or mentioning actual instances that show the practicability of many of the items in the suggested program.

I. KNOWLEDGE

Policy

a. Country church leaders, both preachers and laymen, should have a clear view of the fundamental aspects of the rural problem, and should broadly define the relationship of the church to that problem.

b. The country church should make a survey of its field, to discover neglected individuals and families, to ascertain the conditions which determine its work, and to learn what movements are entitled to its guidance, interest, and support. Two or more churches serving the same community should coöperate in such a survey. The main results should be made public, but the rights of privacy should be duly guarded.

Program for the Local Church

a-1. Books, bulletins, and magazines on country life should be put into public libraries and church libraries.

(See lists furnished by Rural Department of Y. M. C. A.)

2. Import lecturers on country life from the agricultural colleges, church societies, Y. M. C. A., etc.

3. Have speakers on the subject of the rural problem, at church coventions, conventions of young people's societies, etc .

4. Hold county or district conferences of rural preachers to study the rural problem.

b-1. Promote the community survey. Use some good standard survey such as that furnished by the Federal Council, by the Presbyterian board (Dr. Wilson), by agricultural colleges.

2. Encourage self-study by the community.

3. Chart results in graphic form so that material can be preserved, and also made available for actual use.

II. PREACHING AND WORSHIP

Policy

The country church should foster private and public worship of God. Through its preaching, it should bring a ringing spiritual message to the community, and interpret the Gospel for the uplift of motive and the transformation and development of character.

Program

1. Preaching every Sunday in every field.
2. Emphasis on congregational singing.
3. Topics and texts with rural setting.
4. Religious use of special days, like Harvest Home, Rural Life Sundays, Thanksgiving, Farm Mother's Day, Easter,—with reference to rural environment.

III. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Policy

The country church should develop definite means of religious education, both of adults and of children, interpreting personal and social duty in terms of rural life, and applying what is learned in actual social service. To this end, the pulpit, the home, and the Sunday School should definitely coöperate.

Program

1. Graded Bible instruction for children; adapted to the average country Sunday School.
2. Instruction of adults through consecutive studies in sermonic material.
3. Mid-week and monthly conferences.
4. Rural Bible Study.

IV. THE CHURCH MINISTERING TO ALL THE PEOPLE

Policy

While the country church should minister to the efficient and successful, to the end that it may hold the community through competent leadership, it should minister with special zeal to the ineffective, the poor and the degenerate, since they also belong to Christ. The rapidly increasing instability of the rural population lays upon the church the special duty of religious and social helpfulness to the tenant farmer and the hired man.

Program

1. Organize clubs within the church for community service projects; bring in outside speakers at club dinners, etc., to discuss community work.
2. Utilize existing women's organizations for larger and more effective service.
3. Encourage use of the church buildings by organizations and societies.
4. Give public advocacy to various forms of social service, such as clean-up days, community picnics, play festivals, town improvement, Arbor day, beautifying cemetery or common, etc.
5. Preach contentment with rural life and adequacy of country as a life investment.
6. Make church sociables community affairs, if possible, with all welcome.

V. THE CHURCH THE SERVANT OF THE COMMUNITY

Policy

The country church should regard itself as the servant of the entire community, and should be deeply concerned with all legitimate agencies in the community; it should give them support and promotion as there may be opportunity or need. It should suggest and inspire rather than instigate and supervise, but it may undertake any new service for which there is not other provision.

Coöperation with Other Agencies.—The church should recognize a division of functions in the community, and should coöperate with other institutions and organizations. Such adjustments are made individually for the most part, but by public advocacy and by its educational methods the church may exert its collective influence for all ends that may help to upbuild the community.

Program

Community movements should be instigated or aided by active coöperation, as the need may be, for such ends as the following:

1. Temperance, wherever the community is suffering from intemperance or lawlessness; a campaign for no license or prohibition; law enforcement; Sabbath observance.
2. Public health and sanitation.
3. Good roads.
4. School education for rural life, and ordinarily consolidated schools.
5. Intellectual development by means of libraries, lectures, reading circles, clubs, and similar agencies.
6. Provisions for public recreation, and a Saturday half-holiday for agricultural laborers.
7. Promotion of demonstrations of recreation on church grounds if no better place can be had.
8. Better farming and better farm homes, with special stress upon extension work of agricultural colleges.
9. Beauty of village, roadsides and private grounds.
10. Celebration of religious and patriotic holidays, observance of old home week, and production of historical pageants.

11. Education of the people by preaching on community planning.
12. Establishment of a supervised social center or community house.
13. Local federation for rural progress and other community programs.
14. In general, promotion of coöperation among farmers in their production, buying, and selling.

VI. COOPERATION AMONG THE CHURCHES

Policy

Groups of country churches, with natural and social affiliations, should unite for the study of their special field and for the more effective use of their resources in meeting its needs, thus forming a church federation. Churches should consolidate where only one church is needed in a community. In some communities a federated church may be practicable, an arrangement by which all churches in a community unite for worship and work but each church society preserves its corporate identity.

Program

1. Union meetings for religious and patriotic purposes, song service, etc.
2. Community projects for various forms of community welfare, Christmas tree, etc.
3. Evangelistic campaign on the coöperative basis, preceded by survey and followed by effective organized work.
4. Union campaigns on moral issues like temperance.
5. Coöperative surveys.
6. Coöperaitve Boys' and Girls' clubs.
7. Coöperative play festivals.
8. Coöperative community pageants.
9. Coöperation in athletic contests.

VII. DIVISION OF LABOR

Policy

Oftentimes the greatest efficiency of the church requires specialized agencies for special tasks. The rural Y. M. C. A. and

Y. W. C. A., the young people's societies, and other similar organized allies of the country church should therefore be utilized and encouraged where needed, and supported in their work.

Program

1. Furnishing leaders for special community tasks.
2. Encouraging financial support.
3. Special work with boys and girls.
4. Special work with young people.
5. Athletic league and recreation features.
6. Use of church buildings for these "allies of the country church."

VIII. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

Policy

A sound business organization and an adequate financial policy are essential to the conduct of the country church. This involves utilizing the available resources of a community, the relation of the local church to the Home Missionary Aid, the matter of minimum salaries for the resident ministers, and proper methods of financial accounting.

Program

1. Official boards and organizations regularly and completely organized with proper program of work.
2. Carefully kept records and regular reports of work in finances.
3. Systematic, community-wide, and adequate financial plan for local church support and benevolences.

IX. THE PREACHER AND HIS HELPERS

Policy

A resident ministry is essential to the highest efficiency of the country church. It should be adequately trained to meet rural needs. Permanency of tenure should be sought by every possible means, including the payment of salaries commensurate with present economic needs and proportionate to ability and service. One of the greatest tasks of the pastor is to inspire, enlist, and train all available leadership on behalf of the full measure of the service of the church to its members and to the community.

Program

The Training of Church Workers

1. Every effort should be made to train leadership in the local church, such as Sunday School teachers, lay readers, elders, deacons, leaders of young people's societies, officers of the various organizations for old and young within the church.
2. Training in young people's meetings.
3. Training in Bible School.
4. Normal class leader and lectures.
5. Conferences and institutes.
6. Reading and correspondence courses.
7. Personal interviews.
8. Practice work for novices, including apprenticeship system.
9. Inter-church visitation.

X. THE PREACHER A COMMUNITY BUILDER

Policy

The immediate work of the pastor is with the local church to which he is responsible, but his efforts should by no means be confined to the church. The church should, as it were, lend its pastor to the community for such helpfulness to individuals, agencies, and causes as will definitely contribute to the building up of the community as a whole.

Program

The pastor may help in many or all of the tasks of rural community building that have been suggested heretofore in this outline on behalf of "better farming, better business, and better living."

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CHAPTER XVI

THE VILLAGE

THE HISTORY OF VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

WARREN H. MANNING

THE precursor of the American village improvement was the early New England village Common,—the people's forum, the center of their social and industrial life, a place of recreation, and on it, at Lexington, was the opening act of that great drama that led to the American independence. Early, especially English, colonists set apart liberal portions of land to be used by householders in common for public landings, pasturage, and from which to secure timber, sedges, and the like,—all under restrictions imposed by the citizens in town meeting. This Common was at first an irregular plot or a very wide street, around or along which the village grew. Many are still retained, sometimes little, sometimes much, diminished by unauthorized encroachments of adjacent property owners or by the town's permitting public or semi-public buildings to be placed upon them. Public landings have suffered even more from private appropriation, and most of the "common lands" lying away from the villages became "proprietary land," at an early date, by such acts as the following: Malden, Massachusetts, in 1694, voted: "Yt ye Common be divided; bottom and top yt is land and wood," and it ordered that commissioners making the division "employ an artist to lay out ye lots." While such acts were legitimate, they were not always wise, for often the same land has been re-purchased for public use at large expense.

The extent of the illegitimate encroachment of private individuals upon lands reserved for the common good was not realized in Massachusetts until Mr. J. B. Harrison investigated for The

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[1] Adapted from the *Art World and Craftsman*, V: 423–432, Feb., 1904.

Trustees of Public Reservations the status of such lands in the sea-shore towns. A typical example of his findings will suffice:

"Marshfield formerly had a Common. In earliest times it was the training field. The town gave a religious society a perpetual lease of a part of it as a site for its chapel, and then ran a public road curving diagonally through what remained. During recent years various persons have obtained permission to build sheds on the remnants of the Common, and there is not much of it left for future appropriation."

That street trees were appreciated in the earliest days is evidenced by the action of a town meeting in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1637, which passed a vote "to mark the shade trees by the roadside with a 'W' and fineing any person who shall fell one of the trees thus marked 18 shillings." That this interest was continuous is made evident by the age of existing homestead and roadside trees, very many of which are between one hundred and two hundred years old. This appreciation did not, however, extend far beyond the residential districts, for lumbermen and farmers very generally appropriated to their own use all valuable trees on the public ways unless close to their houses. Notwithstanding this, there were always agreeable, if not always stately, woodland drives, for it required from thirty to fifty years for a crop to grow.

To the village common outlying roads rambled in by graceful curves over lines of least resistance as established by Indians, by cows, and by men of good sense. Later, that man of "much skill" and less sense, the turnpike engineer, by projecting his roads on straight lines, regardless of hill, dale, or water, managed, at great cost, to ruin much of beauty and convenience, just as the road-builders of the West are following section lines with, however, the frequent additional disadvantage of the zig-zag course along two sides of each section. Such engineers and the surveyor who made his plans of streets and lots on paper from plotted property-lines and angles without levels and with little regard to existing surface conditions or existing streets, were then and are now destroying great beauty at unnecessary cost. In the early days these outlying roads were of liberal width, usually four, often ten, and sometimes more, rods wide. Such roads have also been encroached upon by adjacent property-owners.

The first checks to the petty local land and timber thieves came when permanent roads were established over which they dare not reach and, more recently, from the growth of a public sentiment against such encroachments which they dare not challenge.

That this early interest in village improvement was more pronounced in the older Eastern States, especially in New England, than elsewhere, was probably due to the more compact and direct method of local government represented by the New England town meeting, and by the antecedents of the first settlers. Many causes have contributed to the growth of this movement that sprang into being in the earliest days, and struggled for years in the forests of new movements, and against the weeds of selfish interest, until it is now a sturdy growth with many stout branches and a promise of great fruitfulness. There has been a growing recognition of the distinct utility and the continuous growth in beauty of tree and shrub-planted streets and public reservations and of rural roads following lines suggested by nature. This growth in beauty, exercising the refining influence that such growth always does, brought about such a quickening of public opinion that unlovely, untidy, and unsafe public and private grounds and public ways, once passed unnoticed, became so painfully obvious that action was demanded. At the same time the value of beauty, convenience, and safety as an asset was made obvious by the attractiveness of towns so favored to persons of culture and means who were seeking permanent or summer homes.

A first evidence of organized effort to promote these objects appeared in the Agricultural Societies that grew out of the earlier "Societies for Promoting the Arts." They were formed in South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts a few years before the end of the eighteenth century. They gave considerable attention to the improvement of home grounds, to street-tree planting, and to the preservation and reproduction of the forest. That of Massachusetts, for example, in 1793, offered prizes to persons who should cut and clear the most land in three years, and for the most expeditious method of destroying brush without plowing; but answers to questions sent out at this time showed so alarming a decrease in the forest areas that the policy was reversed and prizes were offered for forest plantations and the management of wood-lots. This same society endowed one of the first botanic gardens, and is still engaged in good works. The development in such societies of the horticultural interest led, in the first half of the nineteenth century, to the formation in several States of horticultural societies that gave much more attention to these objects and occasional attention to public reservations.

During and just after the same period, a number of horticultural magazines came into being under the direction of such men as A. J. Downing, Thomas Meehan, and C. M. Hovey, and some literary magazines, especially Putnam's, gave space to the writers on village improvement. Then came the group of writers represented by Bryant and Emerson, whose keen insight into and close sympathy with nature was transmitted to so many of their readers, and, above all, Thoreau, the Gilbert White of America, with a broader point of view, whose writings did not, however, receive their full recognition until much later.

It is very significant that two well-marked phases of the "improvement of towns and cities" should have developed at almost the same time. First, in a studied plan of public grounds, at Washington in 1851, to be followed by the acquirement of a public park and the appointment of a Park Commission in New York in 1857, and second, by the organization of the first village improvement society by Miss Mary G. Hopkins, at Stockbridge, Mass., in 1853. Equally significant as indicating the impetus the movement is to attain, was the action of the national Government a quarter century later in acquiring great reservations, first, like the Yellowstone Park, for their natural beauty, then, later, as forest reservations for economic reasons, and such battlegrounds as that of Gettysburg, on account of their historical associations.

The first powerful impetus to village improvement was given by B. G. Northrup, Secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Education, who, in his report of 1869, wrote upon "How to Beautify and Build up Our Country Towns," an article which he states was received with ridicule. He thereafter for years wrote much, lectured often, and before 1880 had organized not less than one hundred societies in the New England and Middle States. His writings were published by the daily papers, and the *New York Tribune* republished and offered for sale, in 1891, at three dollars per hundred, his "Rural Improvement Associations,'' which he first published in 1880. It is interesting to note some of the objects especially touched upon in this pamphlet: ''To cultivate public spirit and foster town pride, quicken intellectual life, promote good fellowship, public health, improvement of roads, roadsides, and sidewalks, street lights, public parks, improvement of home and home life, ornamental and economic tree planting, improvement of railroad stations, rustic roadside seats for pedestrians, betterment of factory surroundings.'' Other men active in the movement during this period were B. L. Butcher, of West Virginia, and Horace Bushnell, in California.

That this activity made its impress upon the literature of the day will be evident to those who read ''Village and Village Life,'' by Eggleston, ''My Days at Idlewild,'' by N. P. Willis, and to those who search the files of the *New York Tribune* and *Post* and the *Boston Transcript, The Horticulturist, Hovey's Magazine, Putnam's Magazine,* the *Atlantic, Harper's,* and others. Much of this writing and the few books devoted to the subject, such as Downing's ''Rural Essays,'' Scott's ''Suburban Home Grounds,'' and Copeland's ''Country Life,'' had more to do with the improvement of home grounds than with town planning. It was reserved for Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson in his very recent ''Improvement of Towns and Cities'' and ''Modern Civic Art'' to give a permanent place in our literature to that phase of the work of town and city improvement, although Bushnell, Olmsted, and others contributed to the subjects in reports, magazines and published addresses.

During this same period a broader and deeper interest in forestry and tree-planting was stimulated, especially in the Middle West, by such men as John A. Warder, of Ohio, and Governor J. Sterling Morton of Nebraska, at whose suggestion Arbor Day was first observed in his state, and there officially recognized in 1872. By the observance of this day a multitude of school children and their parents have become interested in tree-planting on home and school grounds. For this, Mr. Morton deserves the same recognition that belongs to Mr. Clapp and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society for the beginning and promoting of the equally important school-garden movement.

Little do we appreciate to what Dr. Warder's forestry movement has led in the West. It has, by its encouragement of homestead plantations, greatly modified the landscape of the vast central prairie region of our continent. What was an endless and monotonous sea of grass is now a great procession of ever-changing vistas between groups of trees. It has resulted in our Government's establishing fifty-three reservations containing sixty-two million acres of public forests managed by an efficient department, in establishing state forest commissions and reservations, in the formation of national, state and local forestry associations, many of which give quite as much attention to the forest as an element of beauty in landscape and to the preservation of roadside growth and encouragement of public and private tree-planting for beauty alone, as they do to the economic problems. In Massachusetts such an association secured laws placing all town roadside growth in charge of a Tree Warden. The importance of a centralized, instead of the individual property-owner's control, of street trees is receiving general recognition. Mr. Wm. F. Gale, the City Forester of Springfield, Mass., by his enlistment of school children as street tree defenders, has shown how centralized control may greatly stimulate individual interests.

A little later in this period there began to flow from the pens of such men as Hamilton Gibson, Bradford Torrey, John Burroughs, John Muir, and Ernest Thompson Seton, a literature that has drawn the people so close to nature that they are seeing and feeling keenly the beauty of the common things right about them, and drawing away from the meagerness, garishness, and conventionality of the lawns and lawn planting of the period that followed the decline of the rich, old-fashioned garden of our grandmothers, and began with the vulgar "bedding-out" craze that followed displays at the Philadelphia Centennial. Then came the World's Fair at Chicago, where many men of many arts worked earnestly in harmony, as they had never done before, to produce an harmonious result. This bringing together of artists in the making of the Fair, gave a tremendous impetus to civic and village improvement activities, in common with all others.

The American Park and Outdoor Art Association, organized in Louisville in 1897, and giving special attention to the public park interests, was the first national association representing the interests under review. In 1900, the American League for Civic Improvement was formed at Springfield to give special attention to improvement associations, in the promotion of which it has been most efficient. The League for Social Service, of New York, is another most efficient association working along similar lines, but giving more attention to sociological subjects. This year the first state association of village improvement societies was organized in Massachusetts. The association, first referred to, invited representatives of all national associations having similar objects in view to attend its Boston Meeting in 1902, where the action taken resulted in the formation of the Civic Alliance, to be general clearing-house for all activities and ideas represented by these various associations. The leaders of the first two associations, feeling that greater efficiency could be secured by working together, have taken action toward a merger, the following sections being suggested for the new association:

Arts and Crafts.
City Making and Town Improvement.
Civic Art.
Factory Betterment.
Libraries.
Parks and Public Reservations.
Propaganda.
Public Nuisances.
Public Recreation.
Railroad Improvement.
Rural Improvement.
School Extension.
Social Settlements.
Women's Club Work.

The National Federation of Women's Clubs, with its membership of over 230,000, has done much to improve towns and cities through its local clubs. How important this woman's work is can be known only to those who can appreciate with what moral courage, enthusiasm, and self-denial women will take up new interests, and how often one woman's persistency and persuasiveness is the impelling force behind important movements for the public good.

One of the best evidences that beauty and good order pay, is given by the action of railroad corporations throughout the country, which have, by the improvement of their station grounds and right-of-way, created everywhere a sentiment in favor of village improvement.

The United States Government is issuing numerous bulletins that relate to village improvement work, and it recognized the importance of the school garden movement by sending a special representative, Mr. Dick J. Crosby, to the School Garden Session of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association at its Boston meeting. The National Educational Association also devoted a session to the same subject at its last meeting. Among universities, Cornell has done great good in establishing courses, and in sending out pamphlets on the improvement of home and school grounds, chiefly under the direction of Professor L. H. Bailey. Through this same agency "Uncle John" Spencer has, by letters to and from a multitude of children, brought them to learn much about the objects in their every-day life, by drawing out their powers of observation, reasoning, and expression. Quite as important are the newspapers and magazines. They are giving much space to the movement, and offering prizes for good work. The *Chicago Tribune* not only offered prizes in 1891, but gave a page or more to improvement work for several months in succession. The *Youth's Companion* has not only given space to the work, but has sent out thousands of pamphlets on village improvement of school grounds. *Garden and Forest*, during its time, was a powerful agency of the highest order under the direction of Professor Charles S. Sargent, and with Mr. W. A. Stiles as editor. Of the existing publications *Country Life in America*, *Park and Cemetery*, *American Gardening*, *The House Beautiful*, *House and Garden*, *Home and Flowers*, *The Chautauquan*, and others, give a large share of their space to improvement work.

Since the appointment of a Park Commission in New York to make and administer a park for the people, nearly every large city and many towns have their Park Commission and public parks. States also are acquiring land to preserve natural beauty, such as in the Wachusett and Graylock mountain reservations in Massachusetts; for their historic value, as at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania; for the protection of the drainage basin to a city water supply, as in New York and Massachusetts; for a game and forest preserve, as in Minnesota. Two states have coöperated in the acquirement of a reservation for beauty alone, as at the Dalles of the St. Croix, lying partly in Minnesota and partly in Wisconsin, and furthermore, commissions under two governments have coöperated in accomplishing the same purpose at the Niagara Falls Reservation.

As an outcome of all this, we may look for the establishment of State Park Commissions, already suggested in Massachusetts, and for which a bill was introduced into the Minnesota legislature, and ultimately a National Park Commission to tie together the great national, state, county, city and town public holdings that will include such dominating landscape features as mountains, river-banks, steep slopes, and sea and lake shores: land for the most part of little value for commercial, industrial, or agricultural purposes, but of great value as elements of beautiful landscapes. The selection of such lands will ultimately be governed largely by natural and by economic conditions as established by such bureaus as that of Soil Investigation of the Government, which is engaged in investigating and mapping soil conditions, as well as by the Forestry Bureau already referred to, and others. At present, large areas of private property, many lakes, rivers, and some sea-shore, now in private hands, are opened to the public without restriction: but with an increase in population and in land values, the public will be shut out from all points of vantage that are not held for the common good, as it is now excluded from many miles of sea-and-lake-shore by private owners, where a few years ago there were no restrictions.

The work of the village improvement societies should be directed toward this movement to make our whole country a park. They should stop the encroachment of individuals upon public holdings, urge individuals to add to such holdings by gifts of land, fine old trees, or groups of old trees, in prominent positions, in town or city landscapes. Every association should secure and adopt a plan for the future development of the town as a whole, showing street extensions and public reservations to include such features in such a way that they may become a part of a more extended system, if this should be brought about in the future. These societies should not undertake the legitimate work of town officials, such as street-lighting, street-tree planting, repair of roads and sidewalks. They should compel the authorities to do such work properly, by gathering information and securing illustrations to show how much better similar work is being done in other places, very often at less cost. They should inaugurate activities of which little is known in their community: such as the improvement of school and home grounds, and the establishment of school-gardens and playgrounds. If the policy of such a society be not broad enough to admit the active coöperation of the ablest men and women of a town, it can accomplish but little. If its methods are not so administered as to instruct up to the highest ideals, its efforts are quite as likely to be as harmful as beneficial.

SOCIAL PRIVILEGES OF VILLAGE OR SMALL CITY[1]

C. J. GALPIN

The general law has recognized the village as a community. The visible unity of the village group of houses, stores, and shops has been the main warrant for treating the village or small city as a community all by itself. The people are closely related in business and life and come to feel a real solidarity. The legal provision for incorporation is a presentation of a set of new powers, and new duties to this group of homes as a comprehensive social unit. A village legislature, a village executive, the thinkers and actors who individually have succeeded by forecast, insight, integrity, and perseverance, are now banded for the village interests. The president or mayor now begins to have his vision widened from a community pedestal, and a new social machine for progress with power is put to work for the common good.

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[1] Adapted from Rural Life, pp. 92–94, Century Co., 1918, and Bulletin 34, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," pp. 24–28. Agricultural Experiment Station, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison.

Organizations and institutions spring up instinctively for the village population. It is assumed that there is to be a church or churches. A village without this ancient public agency at once loses caste. The children of villagers of course must have social privilege of instruction in race idealism. Fraternal orders are assumed. Lodges quickly spring up. Human fellowship must have its ritual and mysticism for the villager. The library is assumed. It may wait for a benefactor, but it is counted on. As soon as there is sufficient taxable property the most important and significant assumption is made—the village will have a high school. It is taken for granted that the children of the village, children whose roofs are near together, should have the privilege of four years' training in idea organization and work acquaintance. Amusement halls, parks, bands, orchestras, and baseball grounds are soon provided. As the village, following its city ideal, moves on into small city government, multiform organized agencies and institutions, voluntary, commercial, or municipal in the plane of public health, education, business, information, soon follow.

The institutional reënforcement of the village, along with the growing consciousness of village unity, clothes the villager with a secondary social personality. This is recognized, even though disparaged by the farmer. Prestige is the outcome. Superiority is inevitable; but here begin the troubles with a necessary farm population, which the banker, storekeeper, and blacksmith know as the goose that lays the golden egg. The problem is one of pleasing the farmer and getting his trade, without building him and his mind, capacities, and wishes, into the community fabric. The farmer's money is good and necessary and must be obtained and his good will retained; but how to accomplish this object is a problem. Thorough-going incorporation of the farmer into the stream of village activities is frustrated by the fundamental conception of the self-sufficiency of the village. The farmer is presented outright with a few donations, as privileges in order to bind him. Toll, of course, is to be exacted by villagers somewhere. Craft sometimes takes the place of open dealing. The farmer does not share in the control and responsibility of certain things which he occasionally enjoys at the village as a spectator. The outlying farm population is seldom massed. Its members come to town by team or automobile or on foot or horseback, do their business without a resting place of their own, stand on other people's streets, in other people's shops, and over other people's counters. They go back after some hours of absence to their own lands, occupations, and homes. In the village they are aliens, but aliens with a possible title to be conciliated. The embarrassment is on both sides. The farmer pays in so much in trade he feels that he ought to have consideration; he pays so little directly toward the institutions that the village considers that his rights are not compelling. Puzzle, perplexity, and embarrassment obscure the whole relationship and situation; and the universal process of legalized insulation of village and city away from the farm, which has grown up undisputed, with scarcely a hint of abnormality, is constantly shadowed by this overhanging cloud of doubt.

The modern village differs from the modern city mainly in this —the village industries are related directly to the needs of the outlying population on the land in addition to the needs of the village population. The city contains industries related to people scattered over the territory of county, state, or nation. As soon as a village obtains one knitting mill, or a latch factory, or plow works, or iron smelter and the like, whose products go to people who are not otherwise interested in the village, it begins to possess the problems of a city. As this process continues, it becomes less and less dependent upon the agricultural population within its immediate farm trade zone, and more and more upon scattered peoples of various sorts, who may never see the city. As the small city grows, outstripping its adjoining villages, these villages become more or less consciously satellites of the city. Wholesale needs are met in this city for village merchants, and special retail customers come to buy clothing and furniture from larger stocks. A trade clientele is formed reaching out over a county, or two, or three, of these seasonal or occasional village and farm buyers. This smaller city, then, has a significance for several communities, and becomes an intercommunity center. Beyond this is the state center for trade— the metropolis, with national importance.

So long as a small city is agricultural in its clientele, the land

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

allied to it is a permanent social factor from generation to generation. It is a part of the equipment of the perennial elemental industry of this city or village. Were there a knitting mill on the edge of a small city, with five hundred employees living about the mill, this whole industry—land, buildings, and people—would be unquestionably part and parcel of the city. In like manner surrounding the agricultural city is a huge continuous nature industry, not directly unified to be sure, but real and actually united just the same.

Every inch of advance on the farm in intelligent skill, managerial ability, moral control, governmental development, will be reflected in the little city by an increased farm consumption of goods, higher grades of farm desire, and better qualities of farm citizenship; whereas the same qualities of skill, intelligence, and integrity in the city will be quickly transmitted to the farm and to the advantage of the population on the land, if avenues of social intercourse between "wheel and hub" are open wide.

Our study shows that the farm homes in the trade zone of a small city share with the city homes the major commercial and social interests requiring combined capital of many to carry on. Circumstances hitherto have hindered the large-scale development of some of these enterprises among the farm homes, but these circumstances may not be—in fact need not be—permanent; for the same incentive which has led the city population to spend some of its surplus profits upon equipment for religion, higher education, government, information, art, leisure, and play, is present in a latent form in the farm population, simply ready to be induced to join hands in an alliance of fair play.

THE TOWN'S MORAL PLAN[1]

HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS

It is possible for the little town to have a moral plan, approximated through conscious standards of social control. As everywhere, human conduct is determined chiefly by the natural acquiescence of the human spirit in the ways of the social order into which it is born. In the main these ways satisfy the individual; even the rebel is too unoriginal to depart from them. Moral sentiment and social convention do most of their work without need of law or police.

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[1] Adapted from "The Little Town," pp. 115–120, Macmillan, N. Y., 1919.

The control of conduct through social tradition is, however, not so simple as the formula sounds; there are traditions rather than a tradition. Not only is there still a dash of frontier wildness surviving as lawlessness in the little towns of much of the country, but the little towns as a group are peopled largely by those who formerly lived in the country and who are still largely dominated by the countryman's point of view. In brief, they are incompletely socialized. Their people cling to country ways in spite of new environment. Thus in matters of sanitation, the maintenance of the barnyard manure pile is a sacred private right worth dying for, as a symbol of our liberties; or on the other hand, as the little town grows there come to be those who want to push on prematurely into city ways for the freedom of which they contend as martyrs to new light. In short the struggle is always on between existing conditions and advancement. Now, any group of people which is distinctively at outs with environment presents a serious moral problem. Just as the spirit of youth is inevitably at war with the necessary limitations of the city streets, so the rural mind is at war with little-town conditions. Hence the necessity of vigorous moral control in order to conform the individual to the requirements of collective life.

The minor struggle between traditions, the give and take of moral sentiments in search of equilibrium, the clash between temperaments, ages and views of life will go on normally forever. But no community can do anything in the direction of its ideals till the fact and main tendencies of social control are settled. The little town may as well face its battle and have it over. The necessary ordinances of safety and decency are to be obeyed. Pigs and poultry will be the most frequent issue. Their economic value under town conditions must first be determined. If it is best to keep them at all, the whole wearying round of issues must be pursued—agitation, education, a contest in local politics, a suit at law or two, a clash at wills and of personal sentiments all along the line.

While all moral battles must be waged on every front at once, it is possible to discern a sort of pedagogical order in which the offensive should be undertaken. It would be foolish to make the first issue that of closing cigar stands on Sunday, which at best would only stir the conscience of a fraction of the community, or that of enforcing liquor laws, which always involves a contest with formidable interests from outside the community. Rather the battle should be drawn on some community issue pure and simple, in which the enforcing of the collective against the individualistic viewpoint involves some broadly fundamental but localized field. When the battle is fought to a finish here other victories will come more easily.

The most difficult yet necessary phases of the little town's struggle for moral standards are those involving outside interests not directly amenable to the community conscience. They are often said to "interfere" with the community; if so they must be made to interfere helpfully as well as harmfully. The most frequent and insidious of these interests is the organized liquor traffic, although often the interests of alien corporations clash with those of the community and interfere in a similar way. In these cases the essential nature of the problem is that it is not local in character. Local tools are used, but the principals to the conflict are too remote to feel local pressure. Under such circumstances the only resource of the little town is to combine with other communities using the resources of state-wide publicity, organization and political action. The unromantic, perpetual, straight-away pull of law-enforcement with all its costs in time, money and personal discomfort, is the inevitable price of community morals in their wider setting.

Even more difficult than law enforcement, but affecting more people in more ways and entering more subtly into community life, are the problems of social control in the round of social intercourse; of amusements, particularly for youth; the problems of standards of consumption registered by the expenditure of money, and of the use of leisure. The concrete forms in which these issues confront the little town are the party, the dance, theater and amusement place; dress, travel, Sunday observance and the like.

Probably the most rational method of precipitating a body of agreements in these debatable fields is that of the voluntary referendum, which has been tried out in a number of communities. It is proposed usually by the federation of women's organizations and consists simply in a systematic canvass of the most influential and earnest members of all classes and tendencies in the community, to see what they think the reasonable standards for ''our town'' are. At what hour should the parties of high school young people close? How many times a week should growing boys and girls be away from home at night? What is a reasonable scale of entertainment at club functions? How much should the cost of graduating dress and attending functions be? What are the reasonable terms of social association between adolescents of the two sexes? When the results of such questions are generalized and announced a considerable range of choice is still open, but weak-kneed parents are strengthened to enforce some kind of a standard. It is easier for the poorer hostess not to spend more than she should. The ultra-puritanical are restrained and the way to rational agreements is open. Surely this is better than the eternal anxiety of the little town as to what is right and proper in social matters, the harsh judgments of the stricter upon the less strict, the internal difficulties by which a man's foes are often they of his own household.

In some such ways as the above the steadying force of social standards may be thus vitally evolved without hardening into unyielding, clashing and non-progressive traditions.

So far the discussion has concerned the logical fundamentals of little-town betterment. It is quite another thing to make a constructive program of social advance. All merely formal directions, and especially negative ones for the control of life, will and ought to fail. The most vitalizing possibility of the little town is that of having a positive program secured by the continuous activities of the institutions of education and service, and by the direct pursuit of wholesome ideals by individuals. One who sees life steadily and sees it whole will not attempt to deal compulsorily with structural fundamentals without at the same time creating an atmosphere in which wholesome community choices may take place. He will not dare to specialize on law enforcement until he has created the playground and appreciated the spiritual aspects of recreation. He will not attempt to make social standards for his fellows except as he can present a vision of normal life compelling in its attractiveness. But on the other hand, and equally, the most idealistic and spontaneous community movements will wander far without a well planned physical basis of town life; without a well ordered economic program through which people can win a livelihood and pay the cost of their collective enterprises; without a firm basis in human health through the facilities of public safety and sanitation; and without a substantial though flexible moral framework within which individual destinies may be wrought out. On these greatest civic commandments hang all the law and the prophets of community welfare.

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY[1]

FRANK A. WAUGH

THE rural population of the United States has always been noted for its public spirit and patriotism. At the same time, it has been recognized that the farmers themselves have benefited least from their own public spirit. They have generally been unable to act in their own interests. For this reason, rural communities should give special heed to the modern movement for civic improvement.

Civic improvement may be accepted as a convenient term to designate all efforts made toward the betterment of the physical conditions of the community. It refers, therefore, especially, to those matters in which the public is interested. Some of the important items in the physical equipment for community life are:

(1) Roads and streets, including bridges, street railways, and street trees.
(2) Public grounds, such as parks, commons, lakes, waterfronts, and cemeteries.
(3) Public and quasi-public buildings, such as school houses, town halls, libraries and churches.

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[1] Adapted from Extension Circular, No. 11, Mass. Agricultural College, Amherst, March, 1917.

(4) Public recreation facilities, especially playgrounds.

(5) Public service equipment, such as telephone lines, electric light lines, railway stations and grounds.

(6) Private grounds—inasmuch as the improvement of private grounds adds greatly to the attractiveness of any community.

Civic improvement then is an enterprise applicable to cities, villages, or country districts, in fact to every civilized community. Inasmuch as the great cities possess an undue proportion of the wealth and initiative of the nation, they may be expected to take care of their own interests along these lines. Country districts and rural villages, however, have equal need to improve to the utmost their physical surroundings. The country as well as the city needs good roads, suitable public grounds, modern school buildings, libraries and churches, and all the improved equipment of twentieth century civilization.

It is the purpose of civic improvement to achieve, as rapidly as practicable, every possible advance in the community equipment as already defined. These improvements can be secured by:

(1) Informing the public as to present conditions, needed improvements, and means of securing the same.

(2) Securing professional and technical advice on pending improvements.

(3) Foreseeing and planning ahead for coming changes, thus avoiding expensive mistakes and reconstructions.

(4) Adopting definite and coördinated plans for community betterment.

(5) Forming improvement programs according to which successive enterprises are taken up in an agreed and logical order.

(6) Assigning particular enterprises to particular groups or organizations, *e.g.* the Grange may assume responsibility for the roads, the Woman's Club for the school houses and playgrounds, one church for the public cemetery, another for the town common, etc.

Civic improvement, therefore, is not a newfangled luxury, not a new means of spending public money, but a means of economizing money. At the same time, it is expected to accomplish substantially better results for the community.

Civic improvement usually succeeds best under the direction of some live, local organization. This may be a village improvement society, or it may be some association which exists primarily for another purpose but which undertakes also to assist in the physical upbuilding of the community in which it lives. The work in some towns has been definitely undertaken by the Grange, though seldom with a sufficiently comprehensive plan. In some communities, it has been successfully prosecuted by women's clubs. Where no organization already exists, or where no existing organization is ready to take up the work, the best plan is often to form a central committee or federation composed of delegates from existing organizations, such as lodges, churches, women's clubs, men's clubs, etc. Under recent Massachusetts legislation the formation of a town planning board has come to be one of the best methods of securing permanent results. Whatever local organization may be in charge of the work, outside advice and expert assistance should be frequently called in. This is highly important.

As the bulk of civic improvement is applied to public works, and as the whole of it is designed for the public good, the bills should be paid chiefly from the public treasury. An indispensable part of a civic betterment campaign is to see that public money is wisely and honestly used. The immediate contingent expenses of the village improvement society may be met by private contributions, by fairs or entertainments, or by any means most acceptable to the community.

Commonly the leading problems presented in a community improvement program are as follows: (a) approaches, (b) streets, including trees, (c) civic centers, (d) commons, (e) public buildings, (f) playgrounds, (g) private grounds, (h) maintenance. A full discussion of all these problems would require an entire volume, but the main issues may be pointed out briefly herewith.

Every town and every rural district should have suitable means of access. We hear a great deal nowadays of isolated communities, meaning those which are hard to reach. Easy access comes by well-kept roads, by well-managed trolley lines, or by railroads. The entrance to a village or country district should be direct, inviting, and hospitable. The front door to a town should have the same qualities as the front door of one's own home.

Good roads are a primary part of civic betterment, and the campaign for good roads is perennial. Better methods of road building are needed, and more permanent roads are especially desirable. In many cases, roads and streets should be relocated before permanent improvements are made. Such relocations should secure more direct lines and easier grades. The work of the Massachusetts Highway Commission has developed some striking examples of improvement by relocation. Many similar improvements can be secured by the towns themselves, if only proper thought is given to the matter.

In Massachusetts, every town should have a tree warden, and should make sure that he is a competent man and that he attends to his work. In the face of the unusual pests which we have to meet, the salvation of street trees can be secured only by heroic efforts. It is depressing to think what our village streets and country lanes would be like, should the street trees disappear. The best modern, scientific care should be given to preserve the trees now standing, and at the same time annual plantings of young trees should be made to make good the unavoidable losses.

The villages are the natural centers of political, business and social life in New England communities. They should be worthy of such an important office. Moreover, at such centers should be grouped the buildings which represent the public life of the community, such as town hall, library, school-houses, post-office, etc. Substantial advantages are gained by grouping these buildings instead of scattering them. In general, the best arrangement is to have them front upon the town common, but never should they be placed upon the Common itself.

The small central greens located in the hearts of many New England villages are a public asset of the highest value. They should be most jealously guarded. They should be well kept, in every particular. It is especially important as a general principle that no architectural or ornamental construction of any kind should be permitted on the Common. Public buildings are particularly damaging, but neither is the Common any place for any kind of fountain, statue, or bandstand. Such ornaments or conveniences may often be located advantageously on the street margin or extreme outer angle of the town common, but under no circumstances should they be placed on the Common itself. Mistake is very common in this matter.

Every effort should be made to secure public buildings of the best character. Every town hall and every library ought to be something which the community can be proud of. A public building which is a public shame is a constant influence to degrade the spirit of the community. The effort for good, attractive, dignified, and even beautiful public buildings needs to be directed especially to the school-houses. Every school-house ought to set a good example daily to the school children. Unfortunately, many school-houses are cheap, shabby, and even dirty.

Country villages and rural communities generally are notably lacking in playgrounds. There is no space reserved where boys may play ball without trespassing on private property. Even the school-houses are insufficiently provided with play room out of doors. There ought to be ample room and encouragement for play in the country. In this way, one incentive which young people find for going to the city would be materially weakened.

When private lawns are well kept, gardens made attractive, and grounds generally beautified, the public enjoyment is greatly increased. Nothing does more toward making a town attractive than to have the private grounds improved. Such garden improvements may be promoted by the village improvement society through offering prizes, the arrangement of special school instruction, and by many other means. This is an important line of civic improvement work.

The most important things in housekeeping are cleanliness and good order; likewise, the most important things in community life are cleanliness and good order. The streets and public places should be kept clean,—the grass mown, weeds cut out, and everything kept in its place. The common should not be allowed to accumulate Sunday papers, nor the cemetery be allowed to grow up to brush. In fact, this regular routine of keeping clean should reasonably occupy a large proportion of the time, efforts and funds at the disposal of any improvement organization.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE SURVEY

THE SURVEY IDEA IN COUNTRY LIFE WORK[1]

L. H. BAILEY

THE scientific method is first to determine the exact facts, and then to found the line of action on these facts. That is the way in which all problems must be attacked if real and permanent solutions are to be found. The scientific method in engineering and mechanics and biology and the rest has been responsible for the high development of civilization within the past century. Similar methods must be applied to rural work. We must finally found all our progress in rural life on a close study of the facts and the real elements in the situation, in order that we may know exactly what we are talking about. The prevailing political methods have been the antithesis of this; they have too often been the methods of opportunism.

Surveys may be of many kinds and for many purposes. Some of them may be for temporary uses only, in the nature of explorations or to set forth a particular line of ideas. The real rural survey should be an agency of record; and it is this type of effort that I am now discussing.

We must distinguish sharply between such a survey, made slowly and studiously, and an inspection, a canvass, or a campaign. These lighter efforts may be very necessary, but they usually do not constitute an investigation, and they belong to a different order of inquiry.

The general or gross reconnaisance, to bring together quickly for comparison the outstanding features and conditions of many communities, may have much value; but it should be undertaken only by persons of experience in detailed survey-work and of ripened judgment. It is one of the most difficult forms of survey-work, if it is to have real value. It must be much more than a car-window exercise. When properly undertaken, it is a new and useful application of geography. There is a great danger that the overhead reconnaisance will be little more than practice in aviation.

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[1] Adapted from "York State Rural Problems," Vol. 1: 238–261. J. B. Lyon & Co., Albany.

If a survey of any region or phase is to be a record of fact, then it must be strictly scientific in spirit, as I have already indicated. It must discover and set down every fact of significance, wholly apart from any prejudice or bias in the mind of the observer: the fact is its own justification. The work cannot be as precise as that in the mathematical and physical sciences; but in its purpose it must be as scientific as any work in any subject.

If the work is scientific, then it will not be undertaken for the purpose of exploiting a movement, recruiting an association, spreading a propaganda, advertising a region, sustaining a political organization, or promoting the personal ambition of any man. There is indication that survey work will soon become popular; there is danger that it will be taken up by institutions that desire to keep themselves before the public and by localities and states that desire to display their advantages. It will be easy to marshal statements and arrange figures, and particularly to omit facts, in such a way as to make a most attractive showing. Even some honest investigators will be likely to arrange the material in such a way as to prove a point rather than to state the facts, unless they are very much on their guard. If country-life surveys have possibilities of great good, they have equal possibilities of great danger. I am glad that the movement is going slowly at first.

The intention of survey work in agriculture is to make a record of the entire situation and to tell the whole truth. Fragmentary surveys and piece-work, however good they may be in themselves, do not represent the best effort in surveys. Practically all our surveys have thus far been fragmentary or unrelated, but this is the work of a beginning epoch. We shall almost necessarily be obliged to do still further fractional and detached work; but it is time that we begin to train the imagination on completer and sounder programs. The whole basis and condition of the rural community must be known and recorded. The community must know where it stands. It must understand its assets and its liabilities.

Survey work is legitimate wholly aside from its application. I have no patience with the doctrine of ''pure science,''—that science is science only as it is uncontaminated by application in the arts of life; and I have no patience with the spirit that considers a piece of work to be legitimate only as it has direct bearing on the arts and affairs of men. We must discover all things that are discoverable and make a record of it: the application will take care of itself. The application of science lies not alone in its employment in particularities here and there, but quite as much in the type of mind and the philosophy of life that result from it. If we knew our exact rural status—in materials, accomplishments and deficiencies—we should by that very fact have a different outlook on the rural problem and a surer process of attacking it. We should do little guessing. We should correct many vagaries and many a foolish notion to which we now are all, no doubt, very much given. We should not be obliged to follow blind or self-wise leaders. A substantial body of accumulated fact would set bounds to the promoter and the agitator and the schemer.

The result of survey-work in agriculture should be to tie the community together. Such work would provide a basis for real judgment on the part of every intelligent resident of the neighborhood. One interest would be tied up with another. Apple-growing would not be distinct from wheat-growing, or church work from school work, or soil types from the creamery business, or politics from home life. The vicinage would be presented to the citizen as a whole. Nothing, in my opinion, would do so much to develop pride of neighborhood, local patriotism, and community common sense as a full and complete knowledge of what the community is in its resources, its history, its folks, its industries, its institutions, and its tendencies.

When the survey idea is once understood and begun, every locality will desire to be represented. Certain regions will develop full surveys, and the reports will be standard; the surveys of intermediate localities may not need to be so elaborate or minute.

When we fully understand our problem, we shall make our best surveys in consecutive order. We may classify all phases of survey-work freely under three groups—physical, economic, social; and the order of the surveys should preferably follow this sequence. We should first know what the region is—geography, physiography, climate, resources, soils; then what it does—the farming, the industries, the markets, the business, the profit-and-loss; then how it lives—its people, its homes, its health, its institutions, its modes of expression, its outlook. I very much doubt the lasting value of surveys of church or school or particular crops or special products that are not founded on a good knowledge of the physical and economic conditions of the region.

FIVE PRINCIPLES OF SURVEYS[1]

PAUL U. KELLOGG

First of all, the survey takes its unit of work from the surveyor. It has to do with a subject matter, to be sure, but that subject matter is subordinated to the idea of a definite geographical area. It is quite possible to carry on a study of tuberculosis, for example, as a piece of physiological research, or as a piece of sociological research, wholly apart from where it occurs. But just as geological survey is not geology in general, but the geology of a given mountain range or water shed, so, even when a special subject matter is under study, the sociological survey adds an element of locality, of neighborhood or city, state or region, to what would otherwise pass under the general term of an investigation.

And when the subject matter is not specialized, but concerns the more intangible ''needs'' of a community, the survey becomes necessarily different things in different localities. It cannot be thought out at a far-away desk. It is responsive to local conditions; in a worn-out country district, suffering from what Professor Ross calls ''folk-depletion,'' its content has little in common with that of a survey in a textile center, tense with human activity, and dominated by its terms of work.

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[1] Adapted from "The Spread of the Survey Idea," Proceedings Acad. of Political Science, Vol. 2, No. 4, July, 1912. Columbia Univ., N. Y.

In the second place, the survey takes from the physician his art of applying to the problems at hand standards and experience worked out elsewhere. To illustrate, if your pure scientist were studying the housing situation in a given town, he would start out perhaps without any hypotheses, tabulate every salient fact as to every house, cast up long columns of figures, and make careful deductions, which might and might not be worth the paper they were written on. Your housing reformer and your surveyor ought to know at the start what good ventilation is, and what cellar dwellings are. These things have been studied elsewhere, just as the medical profession has been studying hearts and lungs until they know the signals which tell whether a man's organs are working right or not, and what to look for in making a diagnosis.

In the third place, the survey takes from the engineer his working conception of the structural relation of things. There is a building element in surveys. When we look at a house, we know that carpenters have had a good deal to do with it, and it is possible to investigate just what the carpenters have done; also the bricklayers, the steam-fitters and the rest of the building trades. But your engineer, like your general contractor and architect, has to do with the work of each of these crafts in its relation to the work of every other. So it is with a survey, whether it deals with the major elements entering into a given community which has structural parts of a given master problem such as Dr. Palmer describes in his survey of the sanitary conditions in Springfield. Only recently I received a letter from a man engaged in making a general social survey of a manufacturing town—a so-called survey. He did not think that it was truly a survey, nor did I, because out of the scope of that investigation had been left all of the labor conditions in the mills. The local committee had been fearful of raising opposition in forceful quarters. Yet these labor conditions were basic in the town's life; on them, for better or worse, hung much of the community welfare; and by ignoring them, the committee could deal with partial solutions only. It was as if a diagnostician in making his examination had left a patient's stomach out of consideration because the patient was a dyspeptic and irritable. They had violated the structural integrity of their survey.

In the fourth place, the survey takes from the charity-organization movement its case-work method of bringing problems down to human terms. Death rates exemplify human units in the barest essentials; but I have in mind a more developed unit. Let me illustrate from the Pittsburgh Survey in the painstaking figures we gathered of the household cost of sickness—lost wages, doctor's bills, medicines, ice, hospitals, funerals, the aftermath of an epidemic in lowered vitality and lowered earnings, household by household—not in sweeping generalizations but in what Mr. Woods called "piled-up actualities." If I were to set one touchstone, more than another, to differentiate the true survey from social prospecting, it would be this case-work method. In employing it the surveyor, because of lack of means and time, must often deal with samples rather than with the whole population coming within the scope of his study. These samples may be groups of school children; or the people who die in a certain year; or those who live in a certain ward. The method is one, of course, which is scientifically justifiable only so long as those who employ it can defend their choice of the sample chosen, and show where it does and does not represent the entire group.

Under this head it is to be noted that the survey is in a field friendly to what we have come to call municipal research. The latter is indebted for its methods of unit-costs and efficiency to the accountants. These methods may be applied to city budgets and city departments as an integral part of a social survey, the distinction between the two movements in practice being perhaps that the one is focused primarily on governmental operations; the other on phenomena imbedded in the common life of the people.

In the fifth place, the survey takes from the journalist the idea of graphic portrayal, which begins with such familiar tools of the surveyor as maps and charts and diagrams, and reaches far through a scale in which photographs and enlargements, drawings, casts and three-dimension exhibits exploit all that the psychologists have to tell us of the advantages which the eye holds over the ear as a means for communication. With these the survey links a sturdy effort to make its findings have less in common with the boredom of official reports than with the more engaging qualities of newspaper "copy"—especially that simplicity of structure, tangible framework, and readability which American magazine men have developed as their technique in writing for a democracy. This is not a counsel, bear in mind, of flimsy sensationalism; although those who have matters to conceal seek to confuse the two. A startling article patched up from a few glints of fact is a very different proposition from a crystal set in a matrix of tested information.

Underlying this factor of graphic portrayal is the factor of truth; truth plus publicity. It is often possible to work out large and definite reforms internally, by getting a group of forceful men around a table and convincing them that so and so is the right thing to do. This is, I take it, a legitimate method of philanthropic work and of social reform. But it is not the method of a survey. The survey's method is one of publicity; it is another and separate implement for social advance, and its usefulness should not be negatived by a failure to hold to its distinctive function. The philosophy of the survey is to set forth before the community all the facts that bear on a problem, and to rely upon the common understanding, the common forethought, the common purpose of all the people as the first great resource to be drawn upon in working that problem out. Thus conceived, the survey becomes a distinctive and powerful implement of democracy.

A METHOD OF MAKING A SOCIAL SURVEY OF A RURAL COMMUNITY[1]

C. J. GALPIN

AN ANALYSIS OF A RURAL COMMUNITY

What Is a Rural Community? There are three fundamental types of association in well developed country life: homes, neighborhoods, communities. A neighborhood is a collection of homes having one or two important common interests such as a district school, or a mill, or an open-country church. The neighborhood may be a number of homes somewhat near together all belonging to the same foreign race, such as a German settlement. A specially genial hospitality in one prominent home may kindle the spirit of neighborliness in homes nearby and give name to the neighborhood, such as the Brown neighborhood.

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[1] Adapted from Circular 29, the University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison.

A community, on the other hand, is made up of all the homes which try to meet, in connection with each other at a common center, the fundamental common needs, such as food, clothing, implements, money, high school education, religious instruction, amusement, fraternal organization. The center of the community is usually a village ranging in population from 300 to 3,000 people and it serves a community area ranging from 16 to 100 square miles.

The people living in the village, on the whole, are engaged in business mainly to supply the needs of the outlying farm homes of that community. The village center is the pantry, safe, shop, medicine chest, play-house, altar, of the community at large. The village homes in thus serving the scattered homes of the rural population as social agents of trade, education, health, amusement, etc., are distinctly a part of the country community itself.

Important Social Agencies. In every rural community will be found from ten to forty different organizations, such as schools, churches, library, Sunday Schools, lodges, study clubs, breeders' association, band, baseball teams, and the like. These are the important social agencies of community life. A club or society or other organization is a social machine which brings the power of a number of people to bear all at once on an important common interest, and brings results to the people concerned which no one of them could get by acting alone. A list of the permanent organizations found in a community will show what large interests are considered important there, and will also show just how far this community has been successful in applying the associative principle to its common life.

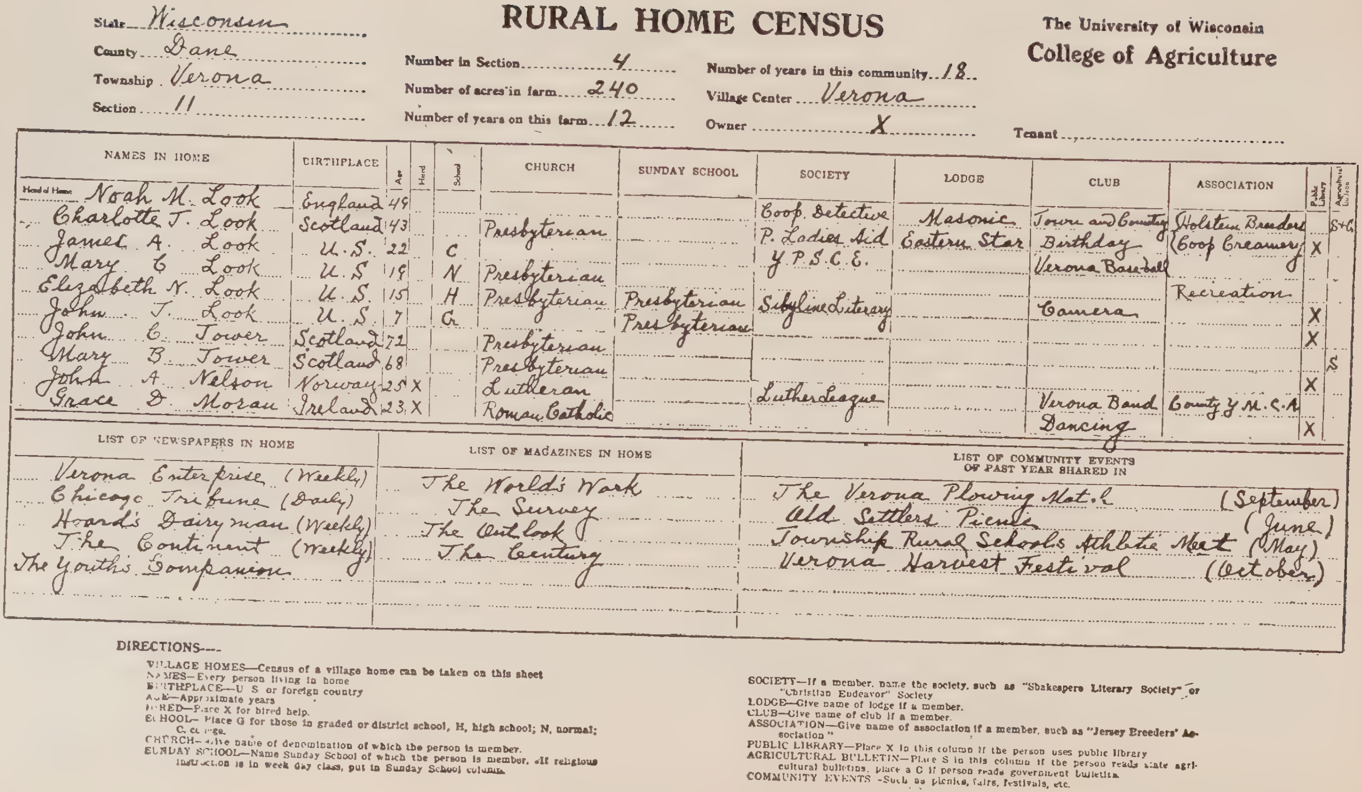
A Community Photograph. A social survey is an attempt to photograph, so to speak, the community so as to show every home in all its social connections with all other homes in the community. A glance at this socialized community photograph will reveal the lines of strong, healthy socialization and at the same time disclose the spots and lines of feeble association. An intelligent social planning for the community can be based on the social facts thus discovered.

HOW TO TAKE THE SOCIAL SURVEY

Determine the Community Boundary. The first step in making the survey is to locate your rural community and draw the boundary lines. Begin at the village center and go west into the open country. The first farm home goes to this village for trade, doctor, high school, church, etc. It therefore belongs to this community. So the second home west, the third, fourth, etc. Finally you come to a home that turns the other way to another village for its principal needs. This home does not belong to your community. Connect with a line all the most distant homes in each direction, that you find turning to the activities in your village center. This line will be the boundary of your community.

Take a Home Census. The next step is the taking of a census of every farm home and village home within the boundary line. Use the "Rural Home Census" blanks furnished by the College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin. Every home should be visited for this purpose by some careful person. The information will be gladly given by some one in the home. Every fact asked for is practically a matter of public knowledge and a source of some pride. Include every child in the home and every hired man and hired woman and any other person permanently residing in the home. The value of the census will depend upon getting every home, getting the facts accurately, and putting these facts plainly and carefully in their right places on the census sheet.

Take an Organization Census. The third step is a census of every organization in the community. Use the census sheet furnished by the College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin, one sheet for each organization. Include every district school, every other school, every church, Sunday school, every society in the church which holds separate meetings, such as Brotherhoods, Young People's Societies, Ladies' Aid Societies, Mission Societies; include every fraternal order, lodge, club or association of any sort, such as a band, singing club,



State Wisconsin
County Dane
Township Verona
Section 11

RURAL HOME CENSUS

Number in Section 4
Number of acres in farm 240
Number of years on this farm 12

Number of years in this community 18
Village Center Verona
Owner X
Tenant

The University of Wisconsin
College of Agriculture

NAMES IN HOME	BIRTHPLACE	Age	Hired	School	CHURCH	SUNDAY SCHOOL	SOCIETY	LODGE	CLUB	ASSOCIATION	Public Library	Agricultural Bulletin
Head of Home Noah M. Look	England	49					Coop. Detective	Masonic	Town and County	Holstein Breeders		S+C
Charlotte J. Look	Scotland	43			Presbyterian		P. Ladies Aid	Eastern Star	Birthday	Coop Creamery	X	
James A. Look	U. S.	22		C			Y.P.S.C.E.		Verona Baseball			
Mary C Look	U. S	19		N	Presbyterian					Recreation		
Elizabeth N. Look	U. S.	15		H	Presbyterian	Presbyterian	Sibyline Literary		Camera		X	
John J. Look	U. S.	7		G		Presbyterian					X	
John C. Tower	Scotland	72			Presbyterian							S
Mary B. Tower	Scotland	68			Presbyterian						X	
John A. Nelson	Norway	25	X		Lutheran		Luther League		Verona Band	County Y.M.C.A.		
Grace D. Moran	Ireland	23	X		Roman Catholic				Dancing		X	

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN HOME	LIST OF MAGAZINES IN HOME	LIST OF COMMUNITY EVENTS OF PAST YEAR SHARED IN
Verona Enterprise (Weekly)	The World's Work	The Verona Plowing Match (September)
Chicago Tribune (Daily)	The Survey	Old Settlers Picnic (June)
Hoard's Dairyman (Weekly)	The Outlook	Township Rural Schools Athletic Meet (May)
The Continent (weekly)	The Century	Verona Harvest Festival (October)
The Youth's Companion		

DIRECTIONS—

VILLAGE HOMES—Census of a village home can be taken on this sheet
NAMES—Every person living in home
BIRTHPLACE—U S or foreign country
AGE—Approximate years
HIRED—Place X for hired help.
SCHOOL—Place G for those in graded or district school, H, high school; N, normal; C, college.
CHURCH—Give name of denomination of which the person is member.
SUNDAY SCHOOL—Name Sunday School of which the person is member. If religious instruction is in week day class, put in Sunday School column.

SOCIETY—If a member, name the society, such as "Shakespere Literary Society" or "Christian Endeavor" Society
LODGE—Give name of lodge if a member.
CLUB—Give name of club if a member.
ASSOCIATION—Give name of association if a member, such as "Jersey Breeders' Association"
PUBLIC LIBRARY—Place X in this column if the person uses public library
AGRICULTURAL BULLETIN—Place S in this column if the person reads state agricultural bulletins, place a C if person reads government bulletin
COMMUNITY EVENTS—Such as picnics, fairs, festivals, etc.

State Wisconsin
County Dane
Township Windsor
Village Center De Forest

RURAL ORGANIZATION CENSUS

The University of Wisconsin
College of Agriculture

NAME	Date of Organization	MEETING PLACE	Time of Regular Meeting	PURPOSE	Value of Equipment	Annual Expenses
Windsor Free High School	1896	De Forest	Sept–June	Education	$11000	$4000

DIRECTIONS

Name--Give exact name of the organization.

Purpose--Give general purpose of the organization.

Value of Equipment--Sum up the value of buildings, furniture and all other property owned by the organization.

Annual Expenses--Sum up all money expended for the past year.

List of Members--Give name and Post Office address of all resident members. If there is not space enough on this side of the sheet, use the other side also. If the two sides are not enough use another sheet.

Schools--In case of district, graded, or high schools, in column of "Time of Regular Meeting" place the months when school is in session.

LIST OF RESIDENT MEMBERS

Name	Address	Name	Address	Name	Address
Abbott, Harry A	Windsor Wis	Devine Thomas	Token Wis	Jonas Henry S	Token Wis.
Abbott, Mary C	" "	Dreutzer Hazel	Windsor, "	Junge Ermina	Morrisonville, "
Adams, Frances A.	Morrisonville, Wis.	Eklund Paul V	" RFD.1 "	Kline, Lulu C	" R.F.D. 3 "
Atwood, Joseph W.	" "	Evans, Esther C	" " "	Krohn Frank	" " "
Austin, Harriet L.	" R.F.D. 3 "	Fisher Edward	Morrisonville, "	Larson, Clara S.	" " "
Baer, John F.	De Forest R.F.D.1 "	Frear, Hermann	" "	Lunde, Miriam	De Forest, R.F.D.1. "
Bautz Harold	" " "	Greene, Fred J.	Windsor. R.F.D.1. "	McGraw, Mary D	" " " "
Beitel, Mabel J	" " R.F.D 2 "	Gunderson Pearl	" " "	Morgan, John	" " "
Booth, Carl W.	Windsor, Wis	Hale Fredrick	De Forest "	Owens Hester	Windsor R.F.D.1. "
Buehler, Helen E.	Morrisonville "	Hambrecht, Jennie	" "	Porter Elizabeth J.	" " "
Burch, Robert S.	" R.F.D 4 "	Heel, Joseph J.	" "	Richmond Harry	"
Chase, Minnie D	De Forest ,	Hill, Arthur	" "	Ryan Grace D.	" " "
Cook, James S.	" "	Hoffman, Grace E.	Windsor, "	Schact Alma K.	De Forest "
Curtiss, Alice V	" "	Hopkins, Isaac	" R.F.D. 1. "	Schact, Joseph	" RFD 2 "
Davis, Charles	" "	Hostler, May B.	" " "	Wahl, Ivan	" " " "
				Wolfe Lora C	Windsor "
				Young, Hattie S	De Forest "

amusement club, base ball club. Omit no group of people that have a name and regular meetings more or less frequent. Do not fail to get the list of resident members. Value here will depend upon accuracy. A courteous request to the secretary of each organization will undoubtedly be responded to with all the facts desired.

Make Community Maps. The information obtained by the home census, while valuable in itself, can be made far more useful by a system of community maps. Draw a map of your community on white card board or cloth-backed paper about forty inches by thirty-six. Put in all the roads and the village center limits. Locate every farm home on this map by a round black dot a quarter of an inch in diameter. Make a separate map of the village, locating all homes by the black dot.

Total Socialization Map. Make a list of all organizations in the community as found by the organization census. Give a different color to each organization. Then make little round seals one quarter of an inch in diameter out of colored papers of these same colors. Take one farm home census sheet at a time, and see what organizations are represented in this home. Stick one seal to the edge of the black dot locating the home, to represent connection with an organization which has one or more members in this home—only one seal, however many the members. Then to the outer edge of this seal stick one more seal representing the next organization found in the home, and so on, until you have a line of seals of different colors on the map, which shows at a glance exactly what organizations have membership in this home. Treat each farm home in the same way, and the result will be a community map showing the total social connections of all the farm homes. Proceed in the same way with the village map, and the two maps side by side will show the total social relations of all homes in the community.

A Tenant and Owner Map. On another map containing all the farm homes, you can attach seals of one color for tenants and seals of another color for owners occupying the farm. This will show at a glance the situation of the tenant problem.

School Maps. An interesting map can be made showing all the homes having some children of graded school age not in school along with those homes where such children are all in school. In the same manner a map can be made showing the extent to which the homes make use of the high school.

A Sunday School Map. A map can be made showing homes containing children going to school but not to Sunday school, along with those containing children all going to Sunday school.

Possible Maps.
- A Newspaper Map.
- A Magazine Map.
- Community Events Map.
- Library Map.
- Homes With and Without Children.
- Foreign Born Map.
- Hired Help Map.

Combination Maps. Perhaps the most valuable kind of map is made by the combination of one set of facts about each home with another set of facts. For example, a certain colored seal may be given to residence of a home in the community for a period of at least five years. Give a colored seal to church membership (whatever the particular denomination). Then combine in one map these two seals. The result will show whether churches have been making their normal appeal to the more recent comers into the community. A score or more of such important combination maps are possible.

Make an Organization Chart. An interesting and instructive comparative table can be made of all the different organizations in your community. Follow the divisions called for in the organization census sheet, including value of equipment and annual expenses, putting total number of members in place of actual list of members.

Results to be Expected from a Social Survey. What is the use of such a social survey? This is the first reflective question every one will ask, and rightly so. In the first place, it is plain that a social survey is nothing but an inventory of the important social activities of the community, so displayed that everybody can see just how far every home is participating in the social life of the community.

The first thing disclosed will be the socially isolated homes neglected, overlooked, or indifferent. This disclosure will be useful to every organization and to every citizen seeking to increase social acquaintance and interest in the community enterprises.

The next thing will be questions of all sorts on the part of everybody, such as, "Why are so few tenants in our organizations?" "Why are there no women south of the river in the Women's Club?" "Why is the library not used by the people in the northeast corner of the community?" "Why are there so few children of high school age actually in the high school?" These questions are vital blows upon hard problems, and are bound to crack open solutions.

Perhaps the most important value of the inventory will be the necessity of looking over all the social connections of all the homes from the point of view of the whole community. These maps are community photographs, and no one can go away from a study of the whole community in its many aspects without having his views modified and enlarged.

There at once emerges this great question, "How does the social situation as revealed by the survey of all associated activities affect the whole community; and what shall we do to change this situation so as to get results in each association better adapted to promote the interests of the entire community?"

With the organization chart before us, a very pertinent question to be asked each organization is this: "We see your purpose, size, property, annual budget, now what are you doing, over and above work for your special group of people, for this whole community whose prosperity sustains and floats your enterprise?" A good answer to this question is due from each organization.

Further questions will surely arise: "How can all these important social machines in the community unite their forces more closely in promoting the legitimate social interests and in meeting the various social needs of the whole community?" "Can a united social front be presented on occasions?"

It may become plain from the survey that some important interest of the community has no "social machine" at work in its behalf. Here then will be a chance to balance up the associated forces by introducing a new force in behalf of a more symmetrical and wholesome country life.

It is sufficient justification for a community's taking a survey and inventory of its social forces and assets, if the survey is calculated to prompt these quickening questions and lead to a readjustment of its social structure so as to produce a balanced social life that will fit the whole community and meet its larger needs.

Who Shall Take the Survey? Any group of community-minded persons in the community can undertake this interesting problem. One person should be general head and director. A staff of five or ten careful, tactful people to take the home census and organization census will be sufficient.

THE SOCIAL ANATOMY OF AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY[1]

C. J. GALPIN

A NEW rural and urban point of view has grown out of the attempt to answer satisfactorily the following series of questions: Is there such a thing as a rural community? If so, what are its characteristics? Can the farm population as a class be considered a community? Or can you cut out of the open country any piece, large or small, square, triangular, or irregular in shape and treat the farm families in this section as a community and plan institutions for them? Would the eighty-five farm homes in a Norwegian settlement, bound together by one church organization, form a community? Has each farm a community of its own differing from that of every other? What is the social nature of the ordinary country school district? What sort of a social unit is the agricultural township?

Is it possible that the farms are related to the village clusters in such an intimate way that in any serious treatment of the one the other must be taken into account? May there not be an important social anatomy here, which needs careful tracing as a factor in any rural social reform? Have we assumed hitherto that the interrelations of farm and village or small agricultural city are all on the surface and easily read? Would it not be well, before imposing a redirected civilization upon the country man, to examine more minutely the larger movements of his ordinary life?

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[1] Adapted from Rural Life, pp. 70–87, Century Co., 1918, and Research Bulletin No. 34, May, 1915, Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

A recent investigation and study of the rural population in a single county of the Middle West,—Walworth County, Wisconsin,—a study covering a period of two years, was prompted by the desire to answer satisfactorily the foregoing series of insistent questions.

THE METHOD

Large Working Maps of the County.—A recent atlas of Walworth County was taken to pieces, the township maps on a scale of two inches to the mile were assembled in order, thumbtacked on a large board, and reproduced on tracing cloth. From this, blue prints were made on cloth, freely used and cut into field maps as required for surveys. The county is twenty-four miles square.

Assistants Resident in Each Village.—A visit was made to each of the twelve villages and cities of the county, and an assistant selected to aid in taking the survey. Teachers, high-school principals, clergymen, bankers, and librarians finally composed the staff of helpers.

Getting a Land Basis Map.—Each village or city was to be the center of information and the problem in general was how far out among the farm homes the village served any social purpose. From the point of view of the village, the problem was one of getting at the land area of village influence; from the point of view of the countryman, it was learning what farms were connected with the same village.

A visit by the survey-maker to the leading dry goods merchant with a print of the county map spread before him, got an answer to this question: "Which are the farm homes, north, south, east, and west, that come farthest to trade in your village?" The result would be a tentative rough trade line drawn about the village. Next the banker would indicate the long-distance farmers coming to the village to bank. A visit for confirmation would be made at the village milk factory, grocery stores, and the like. Then a local map was cut out of the county map one mile wider and longer than the trial limits set. This became the working map for the area having the village as center.

Gathering the Facts.—The first requirement was the name of the farmer residing on each farm represented on the map. In some cases this meant the gathering of 600 names. Usually the banker, real estate man, livery man, and physician in the village could give the bulk of the names. The telephone helped with the remainder. The result was a card catalogue of all farm homes on the map, typewritten on the schedule blanks, one blank to each farm home. Each farm home was located on the schedule by township, section, and number in the section, to correspond with the spot on the map locating the home. With this package of names and the map as a guide in case of doubt as to the man, the survey-maker visited the leading dry goods merchants and got an hour to go through the list, and ask the question, "Does John Doe buy dry goods regularly in this village?" If he does, a cross is put to his account in the blank opposite "dry goods."

In like manner, a visit is made to each grocery, bank, milk factory, village paper, village clergyman, high-school principal, library; and from the records as matters of fact, and not of opinion, it is indicated on the blanks which homes are connected with the village institutions. In case of the high-school, the question was, "Has any one in John Doe's family attended the high-school during the last three years?" In case of the paper, "Does John Doe take your paper?" In case of the church, "Is any one in the family of John Doe connected with your church?"

Making the Final Maps of the County.—The trade map was made first by merging the dry goods and grocery maps which nearly coincided. A large piece of corrugated paper board was placed under a copy of the county base map. Each farm home trading at Elkhorn, for example, was marked and then a pin stuck in the spot. A thread was run around the outside of these pins, following from pin to pin so as to include the least amount of territory while enclosing every pin. This thread line became the boundary of the trade zone. After the trade zone of each of the twelve centers was marked out in this way, the common territory where zones overlap, with homes trading at more than one village was colored alike and called neutral ground. Each community was given its own color. Then round, white seals were used to designate the homes that were found to use the same trade center. In like manner each set of maps was made in water colors.

Trade Zones.—Surrounding each village or city center is an area or zone of land including farm homes that trade regularly at the center. This zone is irregular in shape, due to such factors as irregular roads, lakes, marshes, and varying distances of the trade centers from one another. No village or city is found in the county without its farm trade zone, and within this zone the number of farm homes closely approximates the number of homes at the center. Accessibility seems to be the largest factor in determining the regular trade center for any farm home.

The trade areas of adjacent centers have a tendency to overlap a little, producing a belt from one to two miles in width, of neutral or common trading territory. Farmers living about half-way between centers have a double, or in some cases, triple trading opportunity.

These trade zone lines run, moreover, without regard to the political lines of the township, county, and state.

The farm homes in the same trade zone use the four, five, or six main roads leading to the village center more frequently than any other extended network of highways.

These families, obviously, have at least a passing acquaintance with one another. At the village they meet casually, at least, with farm families from the whole zone. This trade zone acquaintance at the village center is probably wider for each farm home than any other area of its farm acquaintance.

The trade zones of a county are subject to extension and shrinkage with the growth of village centers in number, size and efficiency. A particularly aggressive business spirit in any center, shown by advertising, efficient methods of buying and selling, may enlarge the boundaries of the zone somewhat or at least widen the neutral belt. The farm homes in neutral territory, which are so situated that they may go to more than one trade center, hold a position of decided advantage in determining trade policies of merchants in two or more competing small cities.

The village or city homes and the farm homes in the same trade zone have a common interest in the same trade agents to a certain degree, perhaps particularly the grocer, dry-goods merchant, or clothing merchant. Even in cases where these lines are specialized for farm trade or village trade, it it found that the village homes will be patrons of the ''farmers' store,'' and the farm homes patrons of the ''city store.''

Banking Zones.—As the trade zone, so a banking zone of farm homes surrounds each village or city having a bank. The size of the banking zone compares favorably with the size of the trade zone, and ignores township, county, and state lines; has a belt of neutral or common territory; and reaches about half way to the adjacent banking centers. The banks are used all but universally by the farmers, and apparently the bank acts in the same capacity for the distant farmer as for villager or city dweller living within the same banking zone.

As in the trade zones, farm homes in the same banking zone use frequently the same roads, are under the operation of the same factors of efficiency and integrity in bank management; village homes and farm homes in the village bank zone have an identical interest in bank control and policy; farmers in the neutral belt occupy positions of special power.

Local Newspaper Zones.—Apparently a local newspaper is a necessity in a complete civic center. The paper zone conforms closely in shape to the trading and banking zones, and shows that more than half the farm families are subscribers to this agency of local acquaintance and information. Evidently the village editor and his paper serve the same purpose on the land as among the clustered roofs.

Village Milk Zones.—The milk industry is organized in the county very generally upon the neighborhood scale, with small creameries and skimming stations scattered through the open country. However, at each of the twelve civic centers is a creamery or condensery run on a scale exceeding that of the open country factory. These milk zones, while following the general lines of the trading zone, are naturally much smaller. Only a little neutral territory exists, and this is due to seasonal shifting.

A rapid concentration of the milk industry into these village factories, condenseries, and shipping plants is at present a marked tendency. A few years may bring into this county the auto-truck milk gatherer for each of the large village factories—an agency already used in some parts of Wisconsin. These milk institutions at the civic centers, in cases operated and largely owned by outside companies, are industrial plants of a character especially blending the interest of the villager with that of the farmer. Not only the few main roads leading into the center become of critical interest, but every road in the possible milk zone takes on a new social value—an interest which is likely to overshadow the local road district interest or even the township road interest.

Village Church Zones.—In the open country are many small churches of the neighborhood and race settlement type. Every hamlet has at least one church. Nevertheless the village churches are fairly democratic, and are attended by farm families going distances of five and six miles. It seems to be the policy of the Roman Catholic church in this county to locate its churches in the villages and cities, a fact which makes several of the village church zones of considerable size, almost equal to the respective trading zones.

There are a few abandoned open country churches along the roadsides; but the neighborhood country churches are usually in more or less active operation. In some of the religious bodies it is the prevailing practice for the village minister to serve also one or two open-country charges, a custom which forms one more link between village and country in the same general trade zone.

At certain of the incomplete civic centers, with small population and only partial trading facilities, there is a single church, usually of some one denomination, but generally considered as a "community church." A resident minister is in charge, and a vigorous social life is in progress. The favoring circumstance for this aggressive activity seems to be the blend of farm and hamlet coöperation in a single church parish.

High-School Zones.—Practically every farm home in the county is easily within daily reach of some high-school. Taking the county as a whole, less than fifteen per cent. of the farm homes are sending children to high-schools.

The high-school zones are not only much smaller than the trade or banking zones, but the proportion of farm homes within the zones using the high-school is much smaller than that using the shop or bank. It will be noticed that the form of this zone follows the general lines of the trade zone. Instead of an over-lapping of zone lines giving a belt of neutral territory, there appears surrounding every zone a belt of homes outside the influence of any high-school.

With all the general deficiency apparent in the amount of farm use of these nine high-schools, it is plain that a fair percentage of the farm families within two miles of each high-school recognizes its value. The character of the high-school as an agent in idea-forming and association-making, plays a wonderful part at the adolescent period of life, in democratizing the children of the farm who attend and the children of the village. It would be difficult to overestimate its influence as a force for constructive coöperation, were each high-school consciously controlled in adaptation of subjects and management of courses in the interest of those living upon the land as well as of those living in the small city.

Village Library Zones.—Four fine examples of the institutional library are in the county. The privilege of free use is open to farm families, and a certain considerable number of farm homes, in fact, thirty-one per cent. of all farm homes within the library zones, avail themselves of this privilege. A wider farm use of the high-school would doubtless lead to a wider use of the library.

The School Districts.—A study of the country school districts of the county shows the fact that the prevailing scale of organized farm life is that of the neighborhood. The school house, an open country church, and a creamery may frequently be found together, among fifteen to thirty families, in a territory of from three to five square miles. A slight tendency to consolidate adjoining school districts exists, but it is only slight. There seems to be a greater tendency to enlarge the village or city districts by addition of farms.

The Actual but Unofficial Community.—Eight of the twelve civic centers of Walworth County are incorporated; four as cities and four as villages. Officially, that is legally, the incorporated centers are treated as communities, each by and for itself. The foregoing analysis of the use of the leading institutions of each center by the farm population discloses the fact, however, that these institutions are agencies of social service over a comparatively determinable and fixed area of land surrounding each center; that this social service is precisely the same in character as is rendered to those people—whether artisans, employees, or professional persons—who happen to live within the corporate limits of the city or village; moreover the plain inference is that the inhabitants of the center are more vitally concerned in reality with the development and upkeep of their particular farm land basis than with any other equal area of land in the state.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone about one of these rather complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the apparent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness. The fundamental community is a composite of many expanding and contracting feature communities possessing the characteristic pulsating instability of all real life.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF RURAL INTERESTS

A. RURAL ORGANIZATION

RURAL ORGANIZATION[1]

K. L. BUTTERFIELD

The Problems of Rural Improvement

1. In methods of controlling the necessary forces and materials of production.
2. In farm practice, or in the production of crops and animals.
3. In methods of farm management and farm business.
4. In methods of farm organization.
5. In farm life.

SOME NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS

1. Among the farmers themselves.
2. Between the interests of farmers and others.

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE BETTER CONTROL OF THE NECESSARY FORCES AND MATERIALS FOR PRODUCTION

1. *The Control of the Land Itself.*—Land ownership gives the most complete control. The retired farmer has less control than the owner who works his own farm. The absentee landlord has only a minimum of actual control. Land may be owned by the state and leased to the men who work it. We must learn very soon what on the whole is the best method of land control in order that both farmers and consumers may have the largest possible benefits.

2. *Land Acquirement.*—Farmers in America formerly got

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[1] Adapted from "The Farmer and the New Day," pp. 40–56, Macmillan, N. Y., 1919.

their land from the government. This is no longer true to any large degree. It is coming to be difficult for the young farmer to acquire a farm. Only two solutions are apparent. One is for the government itself to purchase land and sell it to new owners individually or in colonies with liberal credit and easy payments; or for large groups to do the same thing, either as private corporations for gain or coöperative land societies.

3. *Land Rental.*—Rental under right conditions may secure very effective use of the land. Tenant farming does not tend as a rule toward building up permanent farm community interests. Very short leases are disastrous both to farming and to country life. Permanent tenure can be made satisfactory only when the tenant is given a share in permanent improvements.

4. *The Control of Capital.*—Need for capital in farming is rapidly increasing because of increased cost of land, need of land improvements by drainage, etc., larger need for machinery and other equipment, higher cost of labor. The farmer needs both long term credit and short term credit, the one for land purchase and permanent improvements, and the other in order to take advantage of better terms in securing his supply of seeds, fertilizer, feeds. Mercantile or store credit is very costly in interest and should be abolished. One difficulty in securing credit for farmers is that the American farmer is as a rule unwilling to become a party to a plan whereby the farmers of a community collectively become responsible for the debts of the individuals of the community. Farmers have collectively enormous assets which ought to be made available for each worthy member of the partnership.

5. *Control of the Labor Supply.*—The farmer has to compete now-a-days with industry for his labor, in the matter of wages, housing, hours. One of the biggest problems of the future lies in answering such questions as how to keep labor employed throughout the year; how to educate the laborer so that he becomes a skilled farmer; whether women in America will do more farm work than formerly; how to use boy labor without sacrifice of education; the relations of farmers to farm labor organizations; and how to encourage the farm laborer to become eventually a farm owner.

6. *The Control of Materials and Power.*—Commercial inter-

ests have served the farmer reasonably well in supplying seeds, fertilizer, stock feeds, machinery, but only to a small extent in supplying power. The government will probably have to intervene in establishing a democratic use of water power for the making of electricity. Farmers, however, will need to coöperate much more freely than now in the purchase of power, as well as of their other supplies.

II. THE PROBLEM OF IMPROVEMENT OF FARM PRACTICE, OR THE PRODUCTION OF CROPS AND ANIMALS

1. *Improvement of the Soil.*—This means securing greater depth of soil; more complete friability; more adequate control of water in the soil; proper adaptation of special crops to special soils; prevention of plant food waste and erosion; and in general, the question of permanent fertility.

2. *The Improvement of Crops,* by getting the greatest possible yields; improving the quality and food or feed value; securing disease and drouth resistant varieties.

3. *The Improvement of Animals* in size, quality, temperament, healthiness, etc.

III. IMPROVEMENTS IN FARM MANAGEMENT AND FARM BUSINESS

1. *The Purchase of Supplies.*—It is only by collective or coöperative purchase of supplies and equipment that farmers can get the best prices and terms. So long as the individual farmer buys his supplies at a disadvantage, he is economically handicapped.

2. *Standardizing the Product.*—The greatest single difficulty which the individual farmer faces is due in part to the wide variety of crops grown in a given locality and to a great variation in quality. The remedy in general lies in inducing farm communities to produce fewer things, to produce those for which the region is particularly adopted, and then through coöperation, to secure proper grading, careful and honest packing, and wherever feasible, proper labeling.

3. *In the Transportation of Products.*—Good roads and the motor truck will play a rapidly increasing part in initial transportation. Rural trolleys will help to a growing extent. The main dependence for standard crops is the railway system. One of the most important reforms is the adjustment of freight rates

as between the long haul and the short haul in order that both the distant producer and the nearby farmer may have substantial justice.

4. *The Problem of Storage.*—The purpose of storage is to keep such part of the product as is not immediately necessary, until it is needed by the consumer. The farmer believes, and probably with reason, that those who control storage facilities exact unfair toll from the farmer. The difficulty lies less in dishonesty than in the fact that the whole system is purely a profit-making affair. The storage system should be organized and controlled as primarily a method of relating supply and demand.

5. *The Selling of Crops.*—In case of fruits, vegetables, and poultry products, producer and consumer may be brought together face to face in public or community markets where they may make their bargain. For most crops, the middleman is indispensable. He should not be abolished but redirected. We shall never have satisfactory methods of marketing farm products until we have a thoroughly organized group of producers, each group with its special product, dealing directly with well organized groups of consumers, or with well organized groups of middlemen whose activities are regulated by the government in the interests of both producers and consumers.

6. *The Farmer's Interest in Manufacture and Care.*—The conservation and processing of farm products has gone largely into the hands of commercial concerns. The farmer, however, has a moral obligation to eliminate all wastes on the farm itself. Community enterprises looking toward the manufacture or preservation of certain products, both for use in the community itself and as a business venture, will probably increase. There is a vast waste in double transportation; for example, wheat is shipped one thousand miles for milling and the flour is brought back to the farm region where the wheat was grown.

7. *Protection and Insurance.*—The farmer wages a constant battle against insect pests, diseases, of plants and animals, unfavorable natural conditions such as weeds, flood, drouth, frost, wind, hail, fire. Widespread education, mutual insurance and coöperative action seem to be the main solutions. One of the biggest problems of protection is whether it is possible to insure the farmers to some extent against loss due to inadequate knowl-

edge of market conditions, such as spoilage in food products, forced sales of products due to lack of credit, and market gluts.

8. *The Reinvestment of Farm Profits* is not as yet a burning question but it is not unimportant. Why can not farmers utilize their surplus, when they have it, for the building up of the community in which they live?

IV. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FARM

1. *The Farm and its Equipment.*—It would be very helpful to have a standardization of farms on the basis of the most economic type and size of farm and the amount of capital and equipment in stock and machinery needed to operate the farm to best advantage

2. *The Permanent Improvement of the Farm.*—How can the farmer best secure a gradual improvement of his stock, complete a system of under drainage, provide economic but adequate and convenient buildings, and utilize labor-saving devices?

3. *Bookkeeping and Accounting.*—There is great need of adequate records and accounts simplified so that the average farmer can follow the plan. There are really two problems, one that of accurate business accounts and the other that of proper records which when interpreted will help the farmer to adjust his methods of management to the securing of greater economies of time and labor.

4. *The Use of Labor.*—How may labor be secured at any price and how retained? One of the big questions is how to employ during the winter months farm labor needed only during the growing season, in order that labor may be satisfied and be available more continuously for the farmer.

V. THE IMPROVEMENT OF FARM LIFE

Means of Communication. It has been said that the problem of the city is congestion and the problem of the country isolation. In the city there are too many people to the square mile; in the country there are too few. Rural free mail delivery, the rural telephone, the rural trolley, to a degree, and the automobile have quite changed the aspect of country life. The problem is not yet solved, however, the greatest difficulty being that of getting and maintaining at reasonable expense a complete system of good highways, that reaches practically every farmer. The success of the consolidated school and of the community church, as well as economical transportation of farm products, hinges on this issue.

Home-making. The farm home is intimately attached to farm work. It must contribute to the profit of the farm, to the physical efficiency of the members of the family, to the most complete training of the children in character and citizenship, and make itself felt in the upbuilding of a satisfying community. The farmhouse should be convenient and beautiful within and without. It is possible to develop a system of home management that will reduce drudgery and encourage the life of the mind and the spirit.

Means of Education. We must make sure that the rural school gives the country boy and girl just as good an education for life either in country or in city as is given to the city boy and girl. Moreover, the country school should contribute more completely to the education of the adults of the community. Ideally, the people of the community will stay in school all through life. We must maintain a system of agricultural education, through schools and colleges and experiment stations and extension service and farm bureaus, that will reach effectively and practically the entire farm population. We should develop the habit of reading and study with a better system of rural public libraries. Continuation schools must be provided for the boys and girls who are no longer all the time in school, but who ought to keep up their schooling much longer than they do. And in general, we must stimulate the masses of farmers to closer study not only of their own problems, but of the problems of the New Day.

Rural Government. How can we make local government more efficient, more honest? Probably we can do more for the people of the community through the local machinery of government. We already support schools and build roads. Can we not furnish other facilities of community life? Can we not make legislation, both in state and nation, more in keeping with the needs of rural improvement?

Health and Sanitation. We need a large program of education for farm people, especially those in less prosperous regions, in the full meaning of personal hygiene, the very best care of the body, the very best dietaries, and in public health, in order to stamp out epidemics, secure care of sewage, restrict the spread of contagious diseases. In many ways these things are much more difficult to handle in the country than in the city.

Recreation. This is one of the great lacks of country life. We need a more adequate play life for the young and a thoroughly satisfying social life for the adults. We must bring into the country some of those legitimate opportunities for pleasure that people of the city have. Better than this, we would encourage the country people themselves in the making of their own recreation.

Country Planning. The roads, the buildings, the village parks, all of the material arrangements of the country, should be carefully planned.

Social Welfare. There is need in the country as well as in the city for helpfulness to those not well circumstanced; the insane, the feeble-minded, the poor, the sick, the unfortunate. We can organize better than we have thus far the spirit of helpfulness. It is not enough that we have the neighborly interest; we must also have the skilled aid.

Morals and Religion. How can we maintain the highest and finest ideals of personal character and of community life? How can we make religion real in the work of the farm and in the living together of the people? How can we assist the country church, the Y. M. C. A., the Sunday School, to be of the largest possible service in the country?

SOME ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS

We have outlined the problem of rural improvement in a most sketchy way but we have not yet quite told the whole story. All that has gone before calls for a certain balancing of interests. There are adjustments to be made from time to time. There are diverse interests that have to be reconciled. We never can ''solve'' the farm problems as problems of arithmetic can be solved. In our search for constant improvement, we find the constant need of establishing new relationships by the people, of developing new methods of doing business. What is right and fair at one time may not be right and fair at another time because of changing conditions. So let us consider for a moment some of these adjustments that the farmers must recognize.

ADJUSTMENTS AMONG THE FARMERS THEMSELVES

We must secure a sort of balance between the interests of the individual and the interests of the farmers as a whole. This, of course, is a need everywhere in the world. It is not by any means true that if each individual is left to follow his own interests the interests of all will be gained. This is simply the "law of the jungle"; the strong win, the interests of the weak are over-ridden. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to agricultural business coöperation in America is the fact that the most prosperous and efficient farmers in the community do not see the need of pooling their interests; they are not willing to sacrifice a little for the sake of those who would be greatly helped by common action.

Balance between Sub-Industries. When a new opportunity in agriculture shows itself, it may become so popular as to crowd out other forms of production which are fully as essential. Fruit growing in the irrigated districts of the West not only encroached upon fruit growing in the East, but hindered the development of dairy and stock farming to which the irrigated areas are peculiarly adapted.

Balance between Sectional Interests. One of the most serious of all rural questions is the competition of regions. The apple growers of New England with those of the Pacific Northwest; the vegetable growers of Florida with those of Massachusetts; the sugar beet growers and the sugar cane growers; the farmers who grow cattle feed in the Middle West and the dairymen of the East who have to buy these feeds. We find here constant need of establishing fair relationships.

Regional Self-Support. It is a law of economics that the greatest efficiency in production comes when each region produces that which it can best grow, not necessarily that which it can grow better than some other region. Each acre of land should be put to the best use for which it is fitted, considering soil, climate, labor, and market. Therefore it is neither practicable nor desirable that each country, or each state, or each county, or each community, should grow all that it consumes. But we have gone so far in producing for the distant market that we have not only neglected the nearby market which is often poorly supplied, but we have incurred an enormous expense for transporting and handling products which go back and forth. We need to establish certain zones or regions that up to a certain point can take care of themselves with reference to the growing of their food.

The Rural Village. There are perhaps ten million people in America living in villages that are set in a rural environment. The people are not farmers but they live in the midst of farmers. They are not city people. Their very existence depends upon the success of the farming regions round about, and yet there is often the sharpest antagonism between people of the village and the people of the country. The farmers believe that the village merchants exploit them at every opportunity. There is an odd notion among the merchants that in some way the farmers owe them a living. This antagonism shows itself in lack of social intercourse, in sharp political fights. How can we restore the balance between the village, which includes the small ''city'' set in an agricultural region, and the farmers round about? Surely there is a way toward coöperation, a real community interest. Each can help the other.

Permanent Agriculture without Caste. We have a shifting agricultural population. There is scarcely any part of America which has not suffered from over-frequent migration to the city or to other parts of the country. Ownership changes frequently. This impermanence is not true everywhere, but it is characteristic of American agriculture. It cannot result in the best farming. It has not contributed to the best community life. Leadership is lost; yet we would not want everybody born in the country to stay in the country. The idea of keeping all the farm boys on the farm is the poorest policy we could follow. We cannot afford to arrange our rural education so that the boy is obliged to stay on the farm or go to the city handicapped in his preparation for life. The door from country to city must swing wide. There must be freedom of intercourse between city and country. We must not have a peasantry—a rustic group. In no parts of our country must there be a possibility of farmers being looked down upon or being sharply distinguished from other classes in any way that marks them off as a caste. How then may we adjust our modes of living, our education, our country life, our village life, so that we shall secure the advantages of permanent occupation of the land without the disadvantages of a caste system?

Some Special Problems. There is no doubt but the racial problems which have disturbed our country show themselves in agriculture. Special groups, such as the negro farmer, the mountaineer, able but isolated, the emigrant farmer, sturdy but foreign, must in some fashion be taken into the common lot. Only so can we have a real democracy. How are we to do it? There is a question of grades or strata of farmers. In almost any farm community we find a group of very prosperous and successful farmers, men who we say can ''take care of themselves.'' Near the other end of the scale we find the ''submerged tenth,'' men not very efficient. At the extreme end we find the hundredth man—the abandoned farmer. Between these extremes, the great group of average farmers. So we have farmers small and farmers large; farmers wise and farmers foolish; farmers educated and farmers illiterate; and we find the need of adjusting our ideas and our methods of living together so that as far as possible these walls of separation may be broken down. The problem becomes a very interesting and acute one in any farm community when we note the prejudices in church or in secret societies, and how certain groups are inevitably excluded. We also find farmers with special difficulties; the man with the tiny farm, the landless farmer, the laborless farmer, the farmer without capital, the farmer in the depleted rural community who would like to see a better day but is not hopeful that it can be brought about, and finally the farm laborer. Sometimes these matters do not seem like ''problems''; but are rather taken for granted. They are important questions, nevertheless.

ADJUSTMENTS BETWEEN THE FARMER AND OTHER INTERESTS

The Balance between Producers and Consumers. We have had a great outcry because in some prosperous agricultural regions, as well as in those less prosperous, the farm population has actually declined. At the bottom this change of population was simply an effort to adjust the number of producers to the number of consumers. Our land policy had developed too many producers. The application of scientific principles to production and the establishment of a nation-wide system of transportation enabled relatively fewer men to grow the food of the nation. But of course this may be carried too far. If we have too many producers, we get cheap food and also cheap men on the farm. If we have too few producers, the country is not adequately supplied with food.

Adjustment in the Factors of Production. The problem is essentially this: How may the farmer compete with manufacturing and business interests for land, labor and capital? It is a question of proper relationships. The farmer must have his share of these or he cannot do his best work. He has to compete constantly with these other industries. How can we make sure that he has a fair field?

Yield per Acre and Yield per Man. The strength of European agriculture lies in its large yield per acre of land. The strength of American agriculture lies in its large yield per man who works the soil. It is in the interests of consumers to have the maximum yield of food per acre; it is in the interests of producers to have the maximum return due each individual worker. But clearly, both of these things cannot happen at the same time. Somewhere we must find the fair balance. We must adjust the interests of both. How can we do it?

The Conservation of Soil Resources. Less than formerly do the farmers want to use their land even if they use it all up. It is a truism that the American farmer has skimmed the cream off the soil and then gone on West. Society, that is all of us together, which really owns the land, is interested to have it become more productive, whereas it has become less productive in many regions. Of course the good farmer has the same interest in keeping up production, but many farmers do not see it. They want immediate results. Clearly we need an adjustment that results both in that use of the land which gives a fair return to the farmer, and that use which preserves its fertility undiminished for future generations.

Sharing the Savings. Both farmers and consumers would like to abolish the middleman's profits. The farmer rather expects to get most of the profits which the middleman has made, and the consumer, oddly enough, has the same ambition. Both cannot succeed. This tendency shows itself in a public market where householders buy of farmers. Each wants to get the best bargain possible. What eventually happens is probably a pretty fair trade, both getting some advantage in this matter. This principle holds in the whole field of soil distribution. If economies of distribution are effected, who is to get the benefit —consumer or producer? Both! It is a matter of adjustment. The answer lies in establishing fair trade.

Agriculture and Other Business. Agriculture is our greatest business and yet it is often left out of account in plans for possible development. But its relation to manufacturing, to transportation, to commerce and even to finance is very close and even vital. Imagine if you can the farm lands of America lying unproductive for a single year. Moreover, it is clear that if these relationships of agriculture to other industries are so close, competing interests will show themselves. Inasmuch as these industries are well organized and agriculture is poorly organized, the farmers are apt to be the losers. How can we adjust these big interests of these big industries so that all shall have the square deal?

Agrarian Legislation. The farmer has an interest in taxation, in the tariff, in currency legislation. It is believed that legislators have a tendency to ignore this interest, but it cannot safely be ignored. If it results in too great injustice, then we have a radical movement which smashes its way through, perhaps to undesirable ends for all concerned. What we need, then, is an attempt to adjust, in all legislative matters, the fair interests of farmers to the fair interests of other people.

The Farmer in Politics. How can the farmers make themselves felt in our political life? As a party, shall they have representation in legislative business, somewhat equivalent to their numerical strength? Neither of these things seems very practicable, perhaps not even desirable. On the other hand, are the farmers to be left out of account and have nothing to say? Are they to have no unified opinion or desire that finds expression through the political party or the government? How can we find the balance between political neglect of the farmers and political revolution among the farmers?

The Farmers and Organized Labor. Have these groups interests in common or are they absolutely antagonistic? If in common, where do these interests lie? If antagonistic, how may antagonism be allayed?

Rural and Urban Aspects of Civilization. There are people who think that the city stands for civilization, that leadership, wealth, organization, power, will reside in the city and take the helm of society's progress. But have the farmers nothing to contribute? Are not the methods of living and of thinking worth something to the common country? One of the most important adjustments is to make it possible for organized farmers in every country in the world to make their fullest contribution in work, in thought, in ideals, to the common welfare of mankind.

B. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE[1]

THE origin of the Institute is shown in the following letter of H. M. the King of Italy to the Prime Minister H. E. Giov. Giolitti.

Dear President:

Mr. David Lubin, a citizen of the United States, has made a proposal to me, with all the ardor of sincere conviction, and it seems to me both wise and useful, and I therefore recommend it to the consideration of my Government.

Farmers, who generally form the most numerous class in a country and have everywhere a great influence on the destinies of nations, can not, if they remain isolated, make sufficient provision for the improvement of the various crops and their distribution in proportion to the needs of consumers, nor protect their own interests on the market, which, as far as the more important produce of the soil is concerned, is tending to become more and more one market for the whole world.

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[1] Adapted from Report of the International Institute of Agriculture, 1915.

Therefore, considerable advantage might be derived from an International Institute, which, with no political object, would undertake to study the conditions of agriculture in the various countries of the world, periodically publishing reports on the amount and character of the crops, so as to facilitate production, render commerce less expensive and more rapid, and establish more suitable prices.

This Institute, coming to an understanding with the various national offices already existing for the purpose, would also supply precise information on the conditions of agricultural labor in various localities, so as to serve as a safe and useful guide for emigrants; promote agreements for mutual defense against diseases of plants and animals, where individual action is insufficient; and, finally, would exercise an action favorable to the development of rural coöperation, agricultural insurance and credit.

The benefits attained by means of such an Institute, a bond of union between all farmers and consequently an important influence for peace would certainly be manifold. Rome would be a suitable place for its inauguration, at which the representatives of the adhering States and the larger Associations concerned might assemble, and harmonize the authority of Governments with the free energies of the farmers.

I am convinced that the nobility of the aim will suffice to overcome the difficulties of the enterprise.

And in this faith I sign myself,

Your affectionate cousin,

VICTOR EMMANNUEL.

Rome, January 24th, 1905.

In consequence of this letter the International Institute of Agriculture was founded by act of the International Treaty of June 7th, 1905. The treaty was ratified by forty governments, and twelve others have since adhered to it, so that, at the present time, almost the whole civilized world is included.

The seat of the Institute is at Rome. According to the treaty it is a "government institution in which each adhering power is represented by delegates of its choice." It is administered by a General Assembly and by a Permanent Committee. The staff now numbers ninety-seven.

The revenue of the Institute is derived from contributions paid by each of the adhering nations according to the group in which the nation is inscribed, as established by the treaty. (The revenue amounts to approximately $250,000 annually.—Editor.)

The Institute performs the following work:

1. By means of its Bureau of General Statistics, it collects, coördinates and publishes as promptly as possible, statistical data on crops and livestock, the trade in agricultural products, and their prices on different markets. This crop reporting information is set forth in fuller detail in the monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Statistics which is published simultaneously in five languages. The Institute also publishes an "International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics," which contains summary tables of crop areas and yields.

2. The Bureau of Agricultural Intelligence and Plant Diseases collects, elaborates, publishes information of a technical nature on agriculture, agricultural industries, stock-breeding, etc. It publishes a bulletin each month on agricultural intelligence and diseases of plants.

3. The Bureau of Economic and Social Intelligence collects, elaborates and publishes information concerning agricultural coöperation, insurance and credit as well as other questions of agricultural economy.

4. The library collects the books and documents required for the work. It publishes a weekly Bibliographical Bulletin in which are indicated the books received as well as the most important articles noted by the technical bureaus when examining periodicals.

5. The General Secretary's Office publishes an "International Year Book of Agricultural Legislation" containing the laws relating to agriculture enacted in the countries adhering to the institute.

C. NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

WORK OF THE OFFICE OF MARKETS AND RURAL ORGANIZATION[1]

CHARLES J. BRAND

It is believed that effective and economical methods for distributing and marketing farm products should go hand in hand with scientific methods of production, as it profits little to improve the quality and increase the quantity of our crops if we can not learn when, where, and how they may be sold to advantage. To provide for a study of the problems involved, Congress during the spring of 1913 appropriated funds for the establishment and operation of the Office of Markets of the Department of Agriculture. The Office of Rural Organization was established by Congress a year later, in order to determine the possibilities and encourage the use of organized coöperative effort in removing rural conditions. These two Offices were combined on July 1, 1914, and the combined unit is known as the Office of Markets and Rural Organization.

The authority conferred by Congress in appropriating funds for the maintenance of this Office provides "for acquiring and diffusing among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with the marketing and distributing of farm and nonmanufactured food products and the purchasing of farm supplies," and the study of coöperation among farmers in the United States. So far as marketing work is concerned, the activities of the Office, therefore, are limited to the collection and distribution of information. For example, it has no authority to prosecute cases of alleged dishonesty on the part of producers, carriers, dealers, or buyers. It has nothing whatever to do with the problems of production.

Owing to the complexity and wide scope of the work, up to the present time it has been impossible to undertake a comprehensive study of more than a few of the most urgent and important of the problems which demand investigation. As far as possible the marketing problems are being studied from the points of view of producer, dealer, and consumer. A large part of the rural organization investigations has consisted of studies of the work of rural credit associations. As this work is now well under way, more time will be devoted to other phases of rural organization work without, however, discontinuing any of the rural credit investigations.

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[1] Adapted from Doc. Markets 1, 1915, p. 1. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Markets and Rural Organization.

Besides the phase of coöperation dealing with the marketing of farm and food products, work has been instituted looking toward that basic improvement of country life which must come from the country itself, through the development of resident leadership. This work recognizes that the true function of increased prosperity in the farm home is the raising of the standard of living and thinking upon the farm. While other projects of the Office are designed to promote changes which will make farming more profitable, the particular object of this work is to make the country a more desirable place in which to live.

The Office is investigating coöperative organizations that are endeavoring to improve conditions of education, health, recreation, and household economy in rural life. The work done thus far reveals many needs in all of these directions, and, when practicable, the Office attempts to supply information and suggestions to such associations.

Local demonstration work has been undertaken in Alabama and in North Carolina in coöperation with State and local agencies.

THE PLACE OF GOVERNMENT IN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION AND RURAL ORGANIZATION[1]

GOVERNMENT, whether local, State, or national, can render a great service to agriculture and country life. Government can do a great deal more than many people suppose, and it ought to do a great deal less than many people expect. The following principles are set forth as suggestive of fundamental conditions of Government service:

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[1] Adapted from Report of the American Commission, Senate Document No. 261, Part I, pp. 26–27.

1. The Government, as representing all the people, should do all such a Government can do on behalf of better farm practice, better farm business, and better farm life—in so far as this betterment is to the advantage of all the people.

2. In general, however, Government should do nothing that can effectively be done by individual farmers, or by the farmers collectively through voluntary effort. It is highly important to develop self-help. The "coöperative spirit" is vital to the success of coöoperative effort, and this spirit is best engendered by the work of voluntary agencies of social service.

3. The Government, however, may take the lead temporarily in many movements, in order to stimulate interest and to show how progress may best be secured.

4. Where there is practically unanimous agreement on the part of the people that a certain type of effort is essential for the good of the whole people, it is highly proper that the Government should be the agency to perform the service.

The types of work which Government may do for agricultural coöperation, for example, under the principles just enunciated, are as follows:

1. The Government may *investigate* facts and principles underlying the development of agriculture and country life.

2. The Government may *interpret* those principles in the light of the needs of the people.

3. The Government may *inform* the people of the results of its investigations and interpretations.

4. The Government may *advise* individuals and groups how best to take advantage of these facts and principles; that is, how to apply them to farm improvement, marketing and exchange, and community life.

5. The Government may *demonstrate* the best methods of accomplishing this application of facts and principles to actual needs and conditions.

The Government may not participate in the farmers' business nor direct their community life. Only as legislation may be necessary to restrain should Government interfere with the initiative and development of the individual. It should not try to run a man's farm for him, nor to manage the farmers' business transactions.

There are money limitations to the work of Government. The rural problem is so large that the work of Government even within its field will have to be supplemented by voluntary aid and financial support.

There are some fields in which the people are not sufficiently agreed as to methods and machinery so that Government can safely undertake to carry on the collective enterprises of the people.

ORGANIZATION OF A COUNTY FOR EXTENSION WORK—THE FARM-BUREAU PLAN[1]

L. R. SIMONS

PURPOSES OF THE FARM BUREAU

A COUNTY farm bureau is an association of people interested in rural affairs, which has for its object the development in a county of the most profitable and permanent system of agriculture, the establishment of community ideals, and the furtherance of the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of the rural people, through coöperation with local, State, and National agencies in the development and execution of a program of extension work in agriculture and home economics.

At the outset acknowledgment should be made of the excellent work already accomplished by many farmers' organizations. Thousands of coöperative agricultural associations, farmers' clubs, granges, equities, gleaners, and other secret and nonsecret organizations are working together successfully for the betterment of rural conditions. The county farm bureau aims to coördinate and correlate the work of all these organizations, thereby unifying and strengthening the work they are doing. It does not supplant or compete with any existing organization, but establishes a bureau through which all may increase their usefulness through more direct contact with each other and with State and National institutions without in any way surrendering their individuality. It is a nonpolitical, nonsectarian, nonsecret organization representing the whole farming population, men, women, and children, and as such it acts as a clearing house for every association interested in work with rural people.

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[1] Adapted from U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Department Circular 30, Washington, May, 1919, pp. 4–21.

While the original conception of the farm bureau was to develop county-agent work, it soon filled a broader field and it is now rapidly coming to be recognized as the official rural organization for the promotion of all that pertains to a better and more prosperous rural life. It coöperates directly with the State and the Federal Government in the employment of county agents, home-demonstration agents, boys' and girls' club leaders, and other local extension workers. The services of the farm bureau are available to all extension agencies desiring to work within the county. It is quite as much interested in home-economics demonstrations, boys' and girls' club work, farm-management demonstrations, and the work of the various institutional specialists as it is in the demonstrations carried on directly by the county agent. Thus while an outgrowth of county-agent work it has become broader than county-agent work, and is now the federating agency through which all groups of rural people, whether organized or unorganized, are able to secure a hearing.

The primary purposes of the farm bureau are:

1. To encourage self-help through developing and exercising leadership in the rural affairs of each community.

2. To reveal to all the people of the county the agricultural possibilities of the county and how they may be realized.

3. To furnish the means whereby the agricultural problems of the county and the problems of the farm-home may be systematically studied and their solution attempted through a county program of work to secure the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of all rural people.

4. To coördinate the efforts of existing rural agricultural forces, organized or unorganized, and to promote new lines of effort.

5. To bring to the agents representing the organization, the State agricultural college, and the Federal Department of Agriculture the counsel and advice of the best people in the county as to what ought to be done and how to do it.

6. To furnish the necessary local machinery for easily and quickly supplying every community in the county with information of value to that community or to the county as a whole.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the farm bureau is open to all residents of the county and nonresident landowners who are directly interested in agriculture, men and women alike. The membership should be well distributed over the county and should be large enough to be thoroughly representative of the farmers of the county. At least ten per cent. of the farmers should be members before permanent organization is effected. At least eighty per cent. of the membership should consist of bona fide farmers or rural residents.

The membership fee is necessary not only to provide funds to finance the work of the organization but also to secure the active interest of each member. Membership fees are needed to buy stationery, postage, office equipment and supplies, to publish exchange bulletins or other bureau publications, to pay the traveling expenses of the officers and committeemen to attend county, State, or National conferences, etc. If a clear-cut presentation of the facts regarding the nature of the organization, the duties and privileges of the members, and the work already accomplished and to be undertaken is made, no difficulty should be experienced in keeping up the membership from year to year. In some States yearly educational campaigns to acquaint the people of the counties with the nature of the bureaus and the work accomplished have produced a steady increase in the number of counties organized and in the number of members.

Every member should give not only moral support to the work but also personal attention to some activity of the bureau. Each member should keep in close touch with the work in progress, assist in planning for the coming year, and participate in the election of the officers and executive committeemen.

FARM-BUREAU PROGRAM OF WORK

A farm-bureau program of work is a plan for the promotion of certain definite lines of work that pertain to a better and more prosperous agriculture and a more satisfactory rural and home life. A farm-bureau project is a plan for developing some part of the program. For example, a dairy project might include plans for introducing pure-bred dairy cattle, increasing the number of silos, demonstrating better and more economical feeding, and improving the quality of butter made in the homes. Men, women, and boys and girls may coöperate in carrying out such a project. It is essential that each member, and more especially each committeeman, should play an important part in formulating the program and in promoting the projects or activities. The mechanics of planning and promoting the program and writing a project are outlined below.

Development of the County Program. 1. In organizing a farm bureau at least one member of the temporary organization committee, whose duty it is to direct the organization campaign for the farm bureau, should be selected to look after the details of formulating a tentative county program of work. If a program including both agriculture and home economics is contemplated, a program of work committee of at least two members is desirable in order that problems more particularly relating to each phase of the program may be carefully analyzed.

2. The program-of-work committee should send out a questionnaire to each member of the farm bureau requesting suggestions as to the most important problems and how to solve them.

3. The program-of-work committee should tabulate the answers to the questionnaires and secure additional information from the organizer and the temporary committees, and by personal observation.

4. The chairman of the program-of-work committee or the organizer should lead the discussion at the county organization meeting and make a list of the problems on a blackboard. Such general headings as Farm, Home, and Community have sometimes been used.

5. A tentative program of work should be planned at this meeting and project leaders selected to serve as members of the executive committee. The committee on nominations might well meet with the program-of-work committee in selecting project leaders.

6. From the suggestions made at the annual meeting the executive committee should work out a definite yearly program of

work and refer projects to the project leaders to consider and develop the details. County, home demonstration, and club agents should be selected with reference to their ability to assist in carrying out projects.

7. The projects leaders should work with the county and home demonstration agents and club leaders in outlining the details of the projects. They should consider not only *what* should be undertaken, but *who* will do the work, *how* it will be done, *when* it will be done, and *where* (in which communities), it will be done. In considering *what* should be undertaken they should study the problems relating to the project more carefully than they have previously been studied, make a list of these problems, and prepare a chart showing the relation of each project to the entire farm-bureau program of work. This will tend to prevent duplication of effort. In considering *who* will do the work they should make a list of the teaching forces of the county and locate them on an outline map of the county by communities. They should also list the amount of work the extension specialists from the State agricultural college can render. In considering *how* the work will be done they should outline methods for starting the work, securing demonstrators and coöperators, and following up the work until definite results are obtained. In considering *where* the work will be done they should indicate on the map those communities in which the work needs to be undertaken. In considering *when* the work will be done they should prepare a project calendar placing the months and weeks of the year across the top of a sheet of paper and the various parts of the project down the left-hand side of the sheet, and drawing lines to the right of each part of the project to indicate just how much time and at what periods the agents will need to spend on each part and the entire project. In planning the details of a project the recommendations of the college specialists should be carefully considered. Not only local problems, but also State and National problems should be carefully studied.

8. The outline of each project, together with charts, maps, etc., will be presented by the project leader to the executive committee for consideration. The committee and the agents employed will discuss the projects and find out from the project calendars, charts, and maps whether too much or too little work

is being undertaken during the year. In other words, the executive committee will now consider the entire program of work, just how it will be undertaken, by whom, where, and when.

9. The county agent, the home-demonstration agent, or the county club leader will write the project. If the project involves work relating to two or all three of the agents, each should write the part directly relating to his or her work, or the project should be considered in conference and one agent delegated to write it.

10. Each project should then be submitted to the project leader for signature, to the executive committee for approval and the signature of the president and the agent or agents concerned, and to the extension director at the State agricultural college for his approval and for the consideration of any specialist or leader concerned.

Development of the Community Program. It is very essential that each community have a definite program of work based largely on the county program. The agents and one or more executive committeemen should visit each community where work is to be undertaken and discuss plans with a group of community leaders, tentatively selected by the temporary committee chairman.

1. They should make a community map, locating on it the roads, churches, schoolhouses, farmers' organizations, and the houses of the farm-bureau members.

2. They should make a list of all the farm families in the community, all the teaching forces, etc.

3. They should make a survey of the community problems, listing them under such headings as Farm, Home, and Community.

4. They should plan a community program of work, based on the county program in so far as possible, but selecting additional projects as needed, since the problems of the community may differ from those in other communities.

5. The president of the organization shall appoint a project leader for each project in the community to serve as a member of the community committee. It is inadvisable to undertake a project in a community unless a capable project leader can be found who is willing to assume responsibility for the project.

6. The community program of work will be presented to the people of the community by the community committee at the winter community meeting of the farm bureau and coöperators and demonstrators will be secured.

Annual Revision of Farm-Bureau Program. In order to keep the farm-bureau members interested in planning and carrying out a program of work it is desirable to send out questionnaires to the members each year, requesting suggestions as to desirable changes or additions in the program of work. It is also desirable to discuss the program at meetings of the members in each community and at the annual meeting. The executive and community committees will need to carefully revise the county and community programs each year, as projects or parts of projects are completed, or as new problems arise. They will, of course, use the suggestions of the members as a basis for any revision. As indicated, each county project leader may, at any time, call meetings of the project committee, composed of the various community leaders to secure suggestions or to explain plans. Usually these committees will be called together before a revision of the yearly program of work is undertaken.

The following outline may serve to suggest each step in the revision of the program:

(1) October.—Regular monthly meeting of executive committee—make plans for meetings of county project committees and plans for sending questionnaire to each farm-bureau member.

(2) October.—Meetings of each community committee—consider local problems and suggestions of local members and make recommendations to project committees.

(3) October.—Meetings of project committees—discuss recommendations of community committees and suggest revision of projects.

(4) November.—Regular monthly meeting of executive committee—prepare tentative program of work to present at annual meeting for consideration and discussion.

(5) November.—Annual meeting of farm bureau—consider yearly program of work.

(6) November.—Revision of projects by project leaders and agents.

(7) December.—Regular monthly meeting of executive committee—adopt program.

(8) December.—Revision of community programs by community committees.

The officers of a farm bureau consist of a president, a vice president, a secretary, and a treasurer, all of whom should be elected at the annual meeting for a period of one year. The officers should be chosen because of special fitness to represent important projects or activities of the organization, as well as because of their fitness to perform the regular duties of the respective offices. For the most part the officers should be farm men and women.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

An executive committee of from 5 to about 11 members, including the officers of the bureau as ex-officio members, should be elected by the bureau at its annual meeting for a period of one year. Each member may be called a county project leader. It is advisable to have an efficient nominating committee appointed at the annual meeting, in order that the names of members capable of effective service in planning and developing the projects or activities may be presented to the meeting. This committee may contain members suggested to the nominating committee by the official county board of commissioners or supervisors, the grange, the farmers' union, the equity, the farmers' clubs, coöperative associations, county fair, schools, etc.

The executive committee is usually selected so that practically all sections of the county will be represented, but in large counties with inadequate transportation facilities committeemen should be selected who can attend the regular (monthly) meetings conveniently. In the selection of a committeeman one of the chief objects should be to secure a man or woman whose qualifications and personal interest fit him or her to plan and develop some one important line of work or activity of the bureau, such as farm-bureau organization, farm-bureau publications, meetings, exhibitions, finance, food-conservation work, crop improvement, live-stock improvement, farm management, supplying farm labor, coöperation between farmers' clubs, development of better marketing facilities, etc. It is, therefore, evident that the number of committeemen will depend on the number of projects or activities of the farm bureau. In order to prevent the committee from becoming too large and unwieldy, a committeeman may serve as the project leader for more than one project, especially for projects of a similar character.

Duties. (1) Signs memoranda with State extension director.

(2) Makes up financial budgets.

(3) Secures necessary funds.

(4) Authorizes the expenditure of the bureau's money.

(5) Determines the policies of the bureau.

(6) Considers and approves programs and projects recommended by the county project committees and by members of the organization.

(7) Coöperates with the State agricultural college and the United States Department of Agriculture in the development of a program of work, the details of projects, and the employment of county agents, home-demonstration agents, boys' and girls' club leaders, and other local extension workers nominated or approved by the State extension director.

COMMUNITY COMMITTEES

Local community leadership is essential to the success of the farm-bureau movement. Each distinct community in the county should have a community committee made up of at least one and preferably three to five local representatives or local leaders of the bureau. The number of committeemen will depend on the number of community projects or activities.

Method of Choosing. Experience has indicated that until the farm-bureau has become permanently established in the county and the qualifications of a community committeeman are understood by the majority of the members, it has been wise to have the president of the bureau select the community committeemen, each to direct some project or activity of the bureau in the community. The usual practice has been for the president, in consultation with the coöperatively employed agents and local leaders and subject to the approval of the executive committee, to appoint the temporary chairmen of the committees. If the grange or other local club or organization is popular with the rural people in the community and is active in promoting the improvement of agricultural and home conditions, the officers of such organization may be consulted in regard to the appointment of a temporary chairman. The remainder of each community committee has usually been appointed by the president on recommendation of the temporary chairman, executive committeeman, or the agents, after a careful survey of community conditions to determine the chief problems needing immediate attention. Each committeeman should be selected to direct some important project or activity of the organization to be undertaken in the particular community, such as farm-bureau organization, home economics demonstrations, boys' and girls' club work, food conservation, supplying farm labor and seeds, live-stock improvement, etc. Each has been called a community project leader.

Before community committeemen are appointed the temporary community chairman should hold a meeting of prospective committeemen at his home at which the following steps are taken: A community map should be prepared; a more detailed survey of community conditions made; projects selected and approved; a promise secured from each prospective committeeman to assume responsibility for a project or activity; and a permanent chairman and possibly a secretary chosen. Then the president should notify each committeeman in writing of appointments for a period of one year. The appointment of each committeeman should have the approval of the executive committee. At the end of the year the president should appoint committeemen to assume the leadership for the next year's projects. It is usually desirable to retain some of the previous year's committeemen for at least another year, in order that the personnel of the committee may not be entirely new.

The plan of having all farm-bureau members assemble at a central point in the community for the purpose of studying community problems, planning a program of work, and selecting project leaders to be appointed by the president as committeeman, has been tried in a few counties. This plan has seemed to necessitate the attendance at each meeting of the president or an executive committeeman and one or more of the paid agents of the organization, in order that the policies of the organization may be clearly set forth. This plan has been more successful in counties where the farm bureau has been organized for some time and the work has become well established and understood by all the members. The farm bureau is primarily a county and not a community organization; therefore, from the outset nothing should be done to give the wrong impression. The plan of having farm-bureau members assemble by communities to elect or select community committeemen has not been productive of the best results, and for the first year of the bureau's existence should not be encouraged.

Meetings. As many meetings of each community committee should be held as are needed to plan and execute the program of the community. The president of the bureau, accompanied by one or more of the agents, and, if necessary, by one or more of the county project leaders, should always attend the meeting of the committee at which it organizes for the year. Such officers, project leaders, and agents as are needed to assist in promoting the work in hand in the community should attend other meetings of the local committee. Meetings of the community committees should be encouraged whenever work is to be discussed or undertaken even though the agents or county project leaders can not be present. This will tend to promote the plan of having the local people take the initiative in matters pertaining to the community. It is unwise, however, to encourage chairmen to call a committee meeting unless there is need of such meeting. If any of the county leaders or agents have matters of unusual importance which they wish to present quickly to the community committees, sectional meetings of several committees may be held, especially if the problems of the communities are similar.

At least once a year each community committee should hold a business meeting to which the farm-bureau members residing in the community are invited.

After a definite program of work has been formulated, and each community committeeman has agreed to assume responsibility for some part of the program, fewer meetings will suffice. For instance, if the State or county leader of coöperative purchasing and marketing work visits a community to promote the interests of such work, he will need to consult only with the community committeeman who heads some phase of this project in the community, unless it involves a decided change in the community program, in which case it may be desirable for them to present the matter to the whole committee. The same would be true of other special lines of work, such as food-conservation work, farm-management demonstrations, live-stock work, etc., whenever the county leaders on each line of work wish to promote the interests of particular projects in the community.

Duties. (1) To determine and discuss local problems, to assist in the formation of a county program of work, and to adapt this program locally, thereby formulating a community program of work which eventually will solve the local problems.

(2) To secure for the community the desired community and individual assistance in solving local problems by arranging for at least one winter meeting and one summer demonstration meeting and for a few definite field, barn, and home demonstrations.

(3) To secure for the farm bureau the active support of the community by informing the residents of its organization, purposes, and work; by arranging the details and advertising local meetings, demonstrations, etc.; and by soliciting and securing memberships.

Privileges. Community committeemen are the recognized leaders of the farm bureau's work in the community. They are brought into frequent contact with the county project leaders, county agents, home-demonstration agents, boys' and girls' club leaders, and other extension workers and specialists. By helping others they help themselves in information, inspiration, and general development.

COUNTY PROJECT COMMITTEES

As soon as a project is definitely adopted a county project committee is automatically authorized for each project. Each project or important activity will be represented by a county committee composed of the project leader on the executive committee as chairman and the project leader on each of the community committees which has formally adopted the project or activity.

Purpose, Duties, and Meetings. To be most effective the executive committee should not contain as many members as would be required to give representation to each rural community. In order that every organized community may have direct representation in planning the county program of work and representing the policies of the organization, meetings of the project committees should be called by their respective chairmen. Such meetings are desirable if the unity of the county organization is to be preserved. Usually at least one meeting of each committee should be held each year to discuss the recommendations made by the various community committees, and to recommend to the executive committee a yearly county program of work, or to suggest the making of such changes in the permanent program as may seem necessary. These recommendations will supplement those of the members made in the answers to the questionnaires sent to each member requesting suggestions, or those made by the members at the annual meeting. The community project leaders should, of course, consider the suggestions in their respective communities before making definite recommendations. Additional meetings of project committees are desirable if important matters arise requiring their attention. Matters concerning only a few communities in the county frequently arise, in which case only the project leaders representing those communities need to be called together. A luncheon is suggested as a desirable feature of at least one of the meetings of each project committee, or of a general meeting of all committeemen in the county.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A COUNTY

The assistance of a trained organizer to act as leader of the organization campaign may be secured from the State agricultural college by writing the State director of agricultural extension. Temporary headquarters should be provided for the organizer at the most centrally located place in the county, so that he may keep in close touch with the progress of the campaign in every community.

The organizer will assist in the selection of a temporary county organization committee of about five members representing all sections and all important agricultural and home interests in the county. If considered advisable a meeting of a few representative men and women from each community may be called to discuss the advisability of proceeding with the organization campaign and to elect a temporary organization committee. Each committeeman should be elected because of special ability to direct a definite part of the preliminary organization program, such as publicity, finance, programs for local and county organization meetings, program of work for the organization, constitution, and by-laws, etc.

Plenty of good publicity matter, in the form of a series of several articles giving the advantages of organization in general, the history of the farm-bureau movement, results of local extension work in neighboring counties, need of an organization to cooperate with the Government and the State in the employment of trained workers, plans for starting the work in this county, and the progress of the campaign, should be given to the local press at opportune times.

(1) The organizer should explain farm-bureau work carefully and suggest the organization plan.

(2) He should secure the committee's approval of the plan and its help in working out the details to meet local conditions.

(3) The committee should decide on a definite date for the completion of the membership campaign and the necessary number of members to be secured before that date.

(4) The location of the temporary community committeemen may be indicated, as each is selected by the county committee on an outline map of the county, showing the approximate community boundaries. In considering prospective candidates for the community committees their qualifications for effective service on the permanent community committees for the ensuing year, as well as for temporary service, should be discussed. In so far as possible the number of members to be secured in each community should be decided and indicated on the map.

(5) The county committeemen should give the organizer permission to use their names in sending letters to local committees, in newspaper articles, etc.

(6) Definite arrangements should be made with each member of the county committee to attend the meetings of the temporary community committees where he can render the most service.

(7) As far as possible, each county committeeman should understand his or her part of the preliminary organization

program, such as publicity, finances, programs for local and county organization meetings, program of work for the organization, constitution and by-laws, etc.

ORGANIZATION OF TEMPORARY COMMUNITY COMMITTEES

(1) Arrangements should be made by telephone with the prospective chairman of each community committee to hold a meeting of the committee at his home. Ask him to communicate with the other prospective committeemen, inviting them to attend the meeting.

(2) These telephone calls should be supplemented by personal letters signed by one of the members of the county committee. It is best not to discuss the purpose of the meeting other than to suggest that advice is needed in determining matters of great interest to the farmers in the community.

(3) The organizer, accompanied by the county committeeman who can be of most assistance in each community, should meet with each committee in its own community, or, if time does not permit, in a sectional meeting of the committees of several contiguous communities.

(4) At this meeting the purpose of the organization and its relation to extension work, including work with farm men and women, and young people, and plans for organizing the county, should be explained carefully by means of charts, maps, and blackboard. Definite plans for the campaign in the community should be made and a definite promise to serve as committeemen during membership campaign secured from each prospective committeeman.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MEETINGS

Following the committee meetings, an organization meeting should be held in each community at which the leader, and county and community committeemen, should explain county farm-bureau work and the importance of having a large percentage of the men and women of the farms to coöperate in its work as members of the farm bureau. During a recess the local committeemen, already provided with membership cards and membership badges, should solicit members.

The local committeemen should then take the names of those not present at the meeting and arrange to visit each one personally on the farm, and, if possible, secure his membership. On the suggestion of the community committee the organization meeting may be omitted and only the farm-to-farm membership campaign be used.

Invitations signed by one or more members of the county committee should be sent to all members to attend the county-wide organization meeting. Each should be urged to invite all interested persons to accompany him. The letter should also contain an addressed return postal card bearing the following questions:

What do you want the farm bureau to do (1) for you or your farm? (2) for you in your home? (3) for your community? (4) for your county?

The answers to the questions should be tabulated by the program-of-work committee and used at the county meeting as a basis for discussing a county program of work.

COUNTY-WIDE ORGANIZATION MEETING

(1) Several committeemen should line up outside the entrance to the meeting place to secure additional members. They should be well provided with badges, membership cards, receipts, etc.

(2) A constitution and by-laws should be adopted.

(3) A permanent program of work should be planned.

(4) Officers and executive commiteemen should be elected for a period of one year. (Each officer and committeeman should be elected because of special fitness to head some important project of the organization.)

(5) Good music and at least one interesting speaker should be provided.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERMANENT COUNTY ORGANIZATION

Following the county organization meeting the permanent organization should be perfected according to the plan stated in this circular and the officers and committeemen carefully trained for effective service.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

At succeeding meetings of the executive committee arrangements should be made for suitable office quarters and equipment, and coöperatively employed agents, such as a county agent, a home-demonstration agent, a boys' and girls' club leader, etc., representing the organization, the State agricultural college, and the United States Department of Agriculture should be engaged. Following the arrival of one or more of these agents in the county, the committee should formulate a definite program of work and arrangements should be perfected for the holding of community committee meetings for the purpose of formulating community programs of work. As fast as suitable community project leaders can be found, they should be appointed in writing by the president with the approval of the executive committee.

ORGANIZATION AND MEETINGS OF PERMANENT COMMUNITY COMMITTEES

At the first meeting of the prospective community committee in each community a community map should be made on which will be located the community center, schoolhouses, churches, farmers' organizations, roads, farm-bureau committeemen, and members. Community problems should be studied and a community program of work planned to solve these problems. Definite plans for winter and summer meetings should be made at this time or at a succeeding meeting of the committee. Charts showing the relationship the organization sustains to the State agricultural college and the United States Department of Agriculture and charts showing the organization of the farm-bureau should be prepared. Reasons for membership in the organization should be considered and plans made for increasing it. (See Circular 3, Office of Extension Work North and West, States Relations Service, for a more detailed explanation of holding community committee meetings, making community maps, etc.)

Chairmen of project committees should call meetings as needed to discuss matters relating to their projects, to make plans, etc.

HOW TO EXPAND A FARM-BUREAU HAVING ONLY AN AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM TO INCLUDE HOME DEMONSTRATION AND BOYS' AND GIRLS' CLUB WORK

A meeting of the executive committee of the farm bureau should be called to consider the advisability of expanding the organization, and to appoint temporary executive committeemen to represent the home-demonstration work and boys' and girls' club work. The home-economics representative should be a prominent and influential countrywoman of the county who seems well fitted to promote this phase of the work. The club representative may be the county superintendent of schools or other person interested in boys' and girls' club work. At the suggestion of the home-economics representative and of other interested people an influential countrywoman should be appointed in each community where home-economics work is to be promoted, as a temporary member of the community committee. The same general plan should be followed in selecting a club representative in each community. The temporary executive committeeman for home-demonstration work will call a meeting of the community representatives on home economics to discuss the agricultural program and adapt as much of it to their own work as possible. Additional projects may be selected and recommendations made to the executive committee for the appointment of additional project leaders to serve in a temporary capacity on the executive committee until the next annual meeting of the farm bureau. If deemed advisable, plans may also be made to conduct a campaign to increase the membership of women in the bureau. The plans should be submitted to the executive committee for approval. The county campaign should be in charge of the executive committee of the bureau and the campaign in a community in charge of the community committee. Naturally the work will be largely delegated to the women members of the executive and community committees.

The county club representatives should call a meeting of the community club representatives to discuss the agricultural and home-economics program in order to determine what club work should be undertaken in the county. If the project leaders already at work are in sympathy with club work, no additional project leaders other than the temporary project leader need be selected. The club representative will look after the organization of clubs, calling on other project leaders for needed help.

Each community committee should meet to consider the advisability of expanding the committee to include the other phases of the work. Probably not all communities will care to undertake the three lines of work the first year, but if additional projects are selected, names of additional community project leaders should be submitted to the president for appointment as members of the community committees. The community committee should decide as to the advisability of promoting a membership campaign in the community to increase the membership of the women of the community.

At the next annual meeting of the farm bureau the constitution should be changed so it will cover the new phases of the work, one program of work adopted, and officers and committeemen selected, each to be responsible for some part of the program.

D. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION

FARMERS' SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS [1]

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

In a word, then, a farmers' organization is a combination of a considerable number of farmers, over a fairly wide area, for some large general purposes of supposed value to farmers as a class.

Value and Need of Farmers' Organization. (1) Organization is a powerful educational force. If it accomplished no other result it would be worth all it costs. Every coöperative effort among farmers stimulates discussion, arouses interest in fundamental questions, makes abstract questions concrete and vivid, trains individuals in self-expresssion.

(2) Other classes are organized. Business, the trade, the professions are all organized to some degree for many purposes—

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[1] Adapted from Bailey, L. H., Cyclopedia of American Agriculture, Vol. IV: 289–297.

cultural, political, sociable, industrial. It is reasonable to suppose both that these organizations flourish because they serve a human need, and that if valuable for others than farmers they will be of aid to farmers. The element of self-defense inevitably enters in also. An organization is sure to be utilized for the particular advantage of the group or class represented by it. If there comes a clash of class interests the unorganized class must suffer from the concentrated power of the group coöperation of its opponents. In the group competitions sure to arise, the farmers need the strength that organization confers, for securing legitimate group advantages, for defense against the aggressions of other groups, and for utilizing the class strength in the general public interest. It is hardly necessary to assert that organization multiplies manifold the powers of any class of people. It was perhaps true, when the great majority of our people lived on the soil, that organization for farmers' interests was unnecessary. Now, that the farming class is, relatively to other classes, losing ground it becomes imperative that they shall combine their individual strength.

(3) The general tendency of the age toward social self-direction; which is another way of stating more formally and scientifically, and which presses a little farther, the argument just advanced that farmers must organize because other classes are organized. This process is not to be out of mere imitation. Society, as a whole, is more and more the helmsman of its own fate. This is accomplished at present not by a unified campaign, by society as a whole, for some distinct social goal, but by the attempts of separate groups, often apparently antagonistic to one another, to seek group or class interests or to endeavor to fix upon society the special idea or ideal of the group. It becomes then necessary for the self-interest of society as a whole, as well as for the class itself, that our farmers shall seek through organization to give wing to their best ambitions for the benefit of society, as well as to determine the direction which rural progress itself shall take.

(4) Organization, in the light of the social principle just enunciated, becomes then a test of class efficiency. Has a class initiative, self-control, capacity for leadership, ability to act coöperatively and fraternally, social vision, true patriotism?

The activities of the class organization will answer the questions.

(5) Organizations tend in the same way to preserve as well as to test the social efficiency of the farming class, and hence become a vital factor in the rural problem, which is nothing more or less than the preservation and strengthening of the status of the rural people, industrially, politically, socially.

Possible Disadvantages of Farmers' Organizations. (1) They may tend to emphasize undesirable class distinctions and foster class antagonisms. It is to be remarked that, in the development of society, these group competitions are inevitable. Temporarily they may be antagonistic and rival; ultimately they can and must be supplemental, coöperative, seeking the general good. But farmers are a class. They have special interests. They simply cannot maintain their common rights unless they invoke the power that springs from class organization. The danger of undue class distinction can be obviated by the full recognition of the fact that each social group or class has duties as well as rights. Farmers must be led to unite their class power for the national welfare. This is one of the chief functions of farmers' organizations.

(2) Organizations may be unwisely led, or advocate impossible things. This is a real danger; it is not a final argument against organization. The child blunders day in and day out in its education. A social group is sure to do the same. It is the only road to wisdom, social as well as individual. Education, experience and time will tend to adjust these difficulties and minimize the dangers.

(3) There may be over-organization, and the individual may lose his identity. This is also a real danger in our day among all classes. It is less likely to be serious among farmers because of their strong tendency to individual independence.

Difficulties in Organizing Farmers. (1) The ingrained habits of individual initiative. For generations American farmers have been trained to rely upon themselves. The farm family was for many decades an industrial as well as a social unit, and indeed it is so to a large degree even to-day. The pioneer farmers developed some rude forms of coöperation in the neighborhood life, but each man was responsible, almost as much as is the hunter, for his own success. This experience has become a habit of mind not easily bent to the needs of coöperative effort. So strong is this trait that it has produced in many cases a type of man actually unsocial, unwilling as well as unaccustomed to work with and for his fellows. Neighborhood jealousies and feuds in the rural communities are proverbial. Farmers seem to be extremely suspicious of others' motives. Not seldom will they refuse the primacy of leadership to one of their own class. They have been known to repudiate the bargains of a coöperative pact for the sake of individual temporary gain; such action was unsocial rather than immoral, but it is disastrous to organized effort.

(2) Financial considerations. Economic pressure has created a desire to secure financial relief or gain, and if coöperation would accomplish that it would be welcomed. But too often the large view of the educational and social features of rural organizations has been lost sight of, and the farmer has refused to contribute to a movement with such intangible aims and distant results. He wanted to see where even his slight investment of time and money was going to bring him its harvest. Farmers have not appreciated what the economist calls "culture-wants."

(3) Economic and political delusions. The history of farmers' organizations in the United States shows that the great "farmers' movements" have gained much of their power because there existed an intense belief in certain economic and political ideas which seemed to promise release from what the farmers honestly felt to be industrial bondage. These ideas strike at real evils, but in an extreme form at least proved inefficacious, are considered by students to be intrinsically unsound, and indeed have always been regarded by a large proportion of leading farmers as unsound. These delusions were mainly three: (a) that the middleman may be entirely abolished and that farmers as well as producers may sell to customers without the intervention of a third party, and as consumers may also produce for themselves coöperatively. (b) That unsatisfactory business conditions are almost wholly due to faulty legislation, and that a farmers' party is not only feasible, but

is necessary in view of the way by which other interests have secured special legislative privileges. (c) That a satisfactory money can be made by government fiat.

This is not the place to discuss these questions. They are set down as delusions because as practical propositions they have not been made to work to advantage to the farmers. It must not be supposed that all farmers' organizations have urged these views, nor indeed that the majority of American farmers have believed in them. But they have all been proposed as measures of relief for real difficulties; they have never worked results permanently helpful to farmers, and they have wrecked every farmers' organization thus far that has pinned its faith to them.

(4) Lack of leadership. Organization among any large group of people means leadership. The farm has been prolific of reformers, fruitful in developing organizers, but scanty in its supply of administrators. It has had the leadership that could agitate a reform, project a remedial scheme, but not much of that leadership that could hold together diverse elements, administer large enterprises, steer to great ends petty ambitions. The difficulties of such leadership are many and real. But it is to be doubted if the business of small farming is a good training ground for administrative leadership. At any rate few great leaders have appeared who have survived a brief record of influence.

(5) Lack of unity. A difficulty still more fundamental remains to be mentioned. The farmers of America have never been and are not to-day a unit in social ideals, economic needs or political creeds. The crises that have brought great farmers' organizations into being have shown the greatest diversity of views as to remedies for existing ills, and in most cases there has not been in any farmers' platform sufficient unanimity about even a few fundamental needs to tide the organization over to the time when a campaign of education could have accomplished the task of unifying diverse views.

FARMERS' CLUBS[1]

A. D. WILSON

WHAT A FARMERS' CLUB IS

A FARMERS' CLUB is an organization of the people in any community for the improvement of themselves, their homes, and their community. It should include in its membership the whole family, men, women, and children. Two or more families may constitute a successful farmers' club, but it is best, where possible, to include all of the people in the community. A rural school district is a suitable territory to be covered by a farmers' club. Meetings are held in the homes of the members, in town halls, or schoolhouses. There are many advantages in having the meetings at the homes of the members wherever it is practical to do so. The territory should be small enough so that all of its members can conveniently get together.

ADVANTAGES OF A FARMERS' CLUB

A good, active farmers' club will do for a rural community just what a good, active commercial club will do for a village or city, namely, it will tend to secure the united influence of the community to bring about any desired improvement, and further, it will unite the community to oppose anything that is not for it's best interests. We can conceive of no way in which a farmers' club can be detrimental to a community, while we believe that there are at least three ways in which it may be helpful, (1) socially, (2) educationally, and (3) financially.

Social Advantages

People are essentially social beings. They are not usually happy when isolated, and do not develop properly except in groups. Life on the farm tends to keep people too much to themselves. A farmers' club that will bring the people together monthly or semi-monthly furnishes a very desirable change from the ordinary routine of farm life. Every one is interested in making the most of himself and his life. An important part of one's pleasure and development comes from meeting people and gaining the ability to mingle with them freely, without which one cannot appear at his best or get the most out of life, either socially or in a business way.

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[1] Adapted from Minnesota Farmers' Library, Vol. IV, No. 10, Extension Div., Univ. of Minnesota, St. Paul, October, 1913.

One needs to get away from his own work and home and get an opportunity to see it from a different angle. As a rule, one is better satisfied with his own conditions when he sees how others live and do. A better acquaintance with people usually results in more tolerance for their shortcomings. Many times when left to ourselves we begin to think unkindly of our neighbors, and really believe they are not what they should be. Usually a closer acquaintance and a clearer knowledge of their trials and struggles shows us that they are really better than we had thought them to be. A community in which people are interested in each other, know each other, and are boosting for each other and for the community, is a much better place in which to live than is a community in which there is mutual distrust. As a rule, knowledge of one another increases confidence. Play is an important part of one's life. One cannot do his best if every minute is devoted to work. Relaxation and pleasure are absolutely essential to good living. Clubs that will bring some entertainment, social gatherings, or other means of amusement into the community, are very important.

Educational Advantages

A good farmers' club may be of the greatest possible influence in broadening the knowledge of its members. The community has more information than any one of its farmers, and the club meeting tends to give each member the benefit of the knowledge and experience of every other member.

Another valuable feature of the club and club programs is the fact that the members when called upon to speak are put on record, and to maintain their dignity in the community they must live up to that record. For example: if a farmer is asked to tell how he has succeeded in raising the best calves in the community, he will certainly state the very best method he knows of raising calves. After going on record as standing for the best methods known in calf-growing, he certainly cannot consistently do less than put into practice on his own farm the system he has advocated. He has established his own standard, and must live up to it.

Club Work a Stimulant to Study.—Being called upon to present various topics at club meetings stimulates study. No one farm or community has in it all that is good along all lines, and being forced to study and look into what is being done in other places increases the general knowledge of the community and of each individual therein.

Outside Talent in the Meeting.—A farmers' club may increase the general knowledge of its members by bringing in outside talent. Business and professional men from the nearby towns or villages can be prevailed upon to address the club. Speakers from the University or the College of Agriculture and other public institutions may be secured occasionally to bring in outside ideas and inspiration.

Community Problems.—A discussion of the various problems of interest to the community always tends to stimulate every good, live citizen to desire better things, and to make a greater effort to secure them. Any one who has confidence in people and in his community believes that almost all good things are possible if the necessary effort and determination are put forth to secure them. If a club can succeed in arousing in its members a desire and determination for improvement in the community, better schools, better roads, better homes, better live stock, better farms, and better people are all possible.

Financial Advantages

Business is now done in this country on a large scale. Millions of dollars and thousands of people are used in great enterprises. A farmer usually deals with people representing business interests larger than his own. As a rule, in business enterprises he deals with men who have the advantage, simply because the transaction means more to the farmer than to the other fellow in his wider field. For example, a potato-buyer in a community may buy potatoes from 200 farmers. What is 100 per cent. of the farmer's business represents one-half of one per cent. of the potato-buyer's business. Consequently, a deal that means 100 per cent. to the farmer means one-half of one per cent. to the potato-buyer, and because the deal means very little to the buyer and very much to the farmer, the farmer is at a disadvantage. Exactly the same condition prevails in purchasing supplies. The farmer is handicapped because of the small amount of business he is doing. A farmer who can use two dozen self-binders can purchase them more cheaply than the man who uses but one. The farmer who can sell many carloads of farm products of one class can get a better price for his products than can the one who has only a wagonload or less to market.

COOPERATION OR PEASANTRY

There seems to be but two solutions to the problem of putting the farmer on an equal business basis with those with whom he has business outside of the farm. One is to increase the size of the average farm; the other is to unite the interests of several farmers owning farms of ordinary size for purposes of outside contact, in both buying and selling. The latter plan is decidedly preferable, because it does not involve the landlord and tenant or landlord and hired-help system, and makes possible the maintenance of the family-sized farm, which is probably one of our most important American institutions. Coöperation will help to make possible the maintenance of the family-sized farm, operated by its owner, longer than it can be maintained in any other way.

Economy in Coöperation

Coöperation in marketing and in buying is, we believe, essential to the economical distribution of products. Large quantities of uniformly good products can be sold much more advantageously than can smaller quantities of products, each sample of which may be good in itself but which when brought together are not uniform. When every farm was manufacturing its own butter, and each of the hundred or more farmers in the community was trying to sell butter of a different quality, the price of butter was comparatively low. Where butter is manufactured in one plant, the manager of the creamery has at his disposal large quantities of a uniform product and can sell at the best possible price.

If the products of a community, such as grain, potatoes, and live stock, can be made uniform by coöperation among the members of the community in production, and then these larger quantities of uniform products can be sold by one man, the same advantages that come to the large farmer, or have come to the dairy industry can be secured in other enterprises on the farm.

Club Promotes Coöperation

A farmers' club is the logical forerunner of coöperation. In the first place, it gets the people of a community acquainted and increases the confidence of each in the other. This is absolutely essential to successful coöperation. In the second place, it provides a logical means for studying carefully any enterprise that it is proposed to undertake coöperatively, so that impractical undertakings are likely to be avoided. We believe the farmers' club is a vital factor in promoting coöperation for efficiency, because it is not organized to defeat any particular class of people but to study intelligently any problem that may come up, and to take the action necessary to put any plan decided upon into effective operation.

How to Organize a Club

The organization of a club is not complicated or difficult. A good way to start the movement is for some one in a community who is interested to invite two or more of his neighbors to meet at his home or some other suitable place. If an interesting program, including singing and speaking by the young people, can be arranged, so much the better. A dinner or supper should be provided, as eating together does more than any other one thing to break down reserve, formality and distrust. It is much easier to carry out a movement of this kind after a good meal has been served. The proposition should be talked over, and it is well if a considerable proportion of those present have discussed the matter beforehand, in private conversation. No one need have any fear of joining the club, because there is no stock sold and no possibility of loss. It is simply a mutual understanding that the people in the community will take up collectively questions of interest to the community, instead of struggling with them individually.

MEETINGS

Meetings should be held once or twice a month during the winter and as frequently as possible during the summer. Meetings in the homes of the members have at least two advantages: (1) attendance is stimulated by the feeling of obligation to the host or hostess, and (2) the knowledge that the club is soon to meet on a given farm or in its home is a great stimulus to housecleaning and decoration and corresponding outdoor activities.

SUGGESTED CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

The following simple constitution is suggested as suitable, but the form of constitution is not important:

Constitution

ARTICLE I. Name and object

Section 1. The name of this association shall be the Farmers' Club of ....

Sec. 2. The object of this association shall be to improve its members, their farms, and their community.

ARTICLE II. Membership

Sec. 1. Any one in good standing may become a member of this club by paying the annual fee of $...........

Sec. 2. When the head of a family joins the club any member of his family may become an active member without paying additional fees.

Sec. 3. One-third of the active members shall constitute a quorum for doing business at any regular meeting.

ARTICLE III. Officers

Sec. 1. The officers of this association shall consist of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. They shall be chosen because of their business ability rather than their popularity.

Sec. 2. The officers of the club become the executive board and shall constitute the program committee.

Sec. 3. The executive board may call a special meeting at any time by giving three days' written notice.

Sec. 4. The officers of this association shall be elected annually, and by ballot, at the regular annual business meeting, and shall hold office until their successors have been elected and qualified.

ARTICLE IV. MEETINGS

The club shall hold an annual meeting the .... Regular meetings of this club shall be held on the .... of each month at the home of some member or at such place as shall be designated at a previous meeting, or by the executive board.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of the active members.

By-Laws

Section 1. The duties of each officer named in the constitution shall be such as usually pertain to his position.

Sec. 2. All other duties shall be performed by the executive and program committees.

Sec. 3. The club shall aid and further business associations among its members; particularly such associations as pertain to the purchase of necessary supplies, and the purchase and management of live stock and agricultural and garden products.

Sec. 4. From time to time the club shall give entertainments and hold meetings under direction of the program committee, for the benefit of its members and of those whom they may invite to attend.

Sec. 5. Any members, after due hearing, may be expelled from the club by a majority vote of active members at any meeting, without a refund of dues.

Sec. 6. These by-laws may be amended at any regular meeting by a majority vote of active members upon one month's written notice.

FORM OF PROGRAM AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Meeting called to order by presiding officer
2. Instrumental music or a song by the club
3. Roll call of members by the secretary

Responses should take some other form than the mere word "present." The program committee or the president should previously designate the topic of response for roll call. The responses should be entertaining and instructive, but not too long. The following topics may be suggestive:

What I Have Done for the Club Since the Last Meeting
How I Have Added to the Value of my Farm This Season
What I Consider my Most Profitable Crop

4. Reading and approval of the minutes of the last meeting
5. Recitation by one of the younger members
6. Discussion of timely farm topics led by a club member or some other speaker, followed by questions and a general discussion
7. Reading or music
8. Discussion of another farm or household topic illustrated by a demonstration if possible
9. Question box. Timely and practical questions should be previously prepared by members and placed in the question box. Each question should be read and answered separately, the president calling upon some member or members to answer them.
10. A "For Sale" and "Wanted" box may also be provided. A member having something for sale or wishing to buy or hire something should list the same on a slip of paper, sign his name, and place it in the box. These slips should all be read at some time during the meeting. An exchange of these lists between clubs will be mutually helpful.
11. Reading of program for next meeting
12. Report of executive committee
13. Unfinished business
14. New business
15. Closing exercises and adjournment

If desirable, the program may be divided into two parts by an intermission. Readings and recitations may be of a humorous nature to add life to the program. Variety is essential, and whenever possible a discussion of woman's work should be made a prominent feature of the program.

It may frequently be advisable to limit the time devoted to the discussion of each topic, especially if speakers are likely to waste a great deal of time. Matters pertaining to the welfare of the club and the mutual benefit of the members should be given constant thought. Debates may be held occasionally to interest the young people. Where clubs include the entire family in the membership, a basket lunch will add to the interest in the meeting, but it should be simple so as not to be a burden to the house-wives.

The main point to consider is that there should be a good, live, snappy meeting. Short, pointed talks followed by general discussions are very much better than long talks. Music, humorous recitations or readings, and topics of general interest, as well as the more serious business problems of the community, should be given a place on the program. The monthly topics furnished by the Agricultural Extension Division, University Farm, St. Paul, will be found helpful in preparing the program.

WORK TO DO

No organization can exist very long unless it is doing something. From the start the club must be made of value to the community socially, educationally, or financially, and in any event some one must do some work. As a rule, those who do the most for the club get the most out of it. The regular meetings, if made interesting, will be made valuable socially and educationally. Every class of people in the neighborhood or in the club membership should be considered on the program. Wholesome entertainment is often as important as profitable business.

Pacemakers

A few clubs have adopted a plan of appointing pacemakers or specialists along the various lines of interest in the community. The following list is suggestive as to lines of work and methods of procedure:

Road-Builder.—When chosen, it shall be the duty of the road-builder to spread the gospel of good roads in as many ways as possible. He should be prepared to answer all road questions that may come up at club meetings or at other times. He should endeavor to set a good example by attention to all highways adjacent to his farm.

It is suggested that he, in conjunction with the other club members, designate two or three miles of adjacent highways for demonstration purposes, and endeavor to make it as good as possible.

Corn Crank.—The selection of the corn crank should be made with a view to getting some one who is enthusiastic for corn, and who has made a marked success in corn growing. He should be authority on the varieties to be planted; the preparation of the seed and the land; the planting; and the subsequent cultivation. He should have a corn-breeding plat, or at least a seed-corn plat. His field of corn should be a model in every way, and a tribute to the locality.

Flower Queen.—The selection of a flower queen should be made with a view of having some one well informed in the culture of flowers. She should be qualified to answer questions concerning this work, and to make her home flower garden a demonstration of the possibilities in flower culture. She should be capable of giving advice as to varieties practical for farm growing, and easy to grow. She should also be able to advise regarding the purchase of seed, and might well arrange to get up club orders for seeds.

Dairy Wizard.—The man selected for dairy wizard should be a man who has a dairy herd and ample opportunity to demonstrate methods and possibilities. He should be well informed about dairy practices, and if possible should arrange to keep a daily record of each cow in his herd.

Alfalfa Shark.—The alfalfa shark should grow a field of alfalfa, should encourage its growth by others, and should make himself an authority on its culture, curing, and use in his community. He should adopt the slogan, "An acre or more of alfalfa on every farm," and should preach alfalfa in season and out of season.

Potato King.—When elected, the potato king is expected to

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

set the pace as to varieties to plant, preparation of the land, storing and preparation of the seed, time of planting, cultivating, harvesting, and marketing. In fact, he is to be the club's source of potato information, and his field should be a demonstration of what may be done with potatoes in the locality.

The Booster.—The booster should carry the responsibility of arousing community spirit; of devising various ideas that will arouse club members to community action; and of fostering such movements as tend to attract the public to the community and to the club.

Poultry-Keeper.—The poultry-keeper should be some man or woman who is an enthusiast on poultry. His duties should be to maintain an up-to-date poultry plant, and to be informed on the general care, management, and improvement of poultry.

Business-Getter.—The man chosen for business-getter should be especially qualified along business lines. His duties should be to look after the marketing problems of the club, and to see what steps could be taken to enable the club members to get their supplies most economically.

Home-Maker.—The position of home-maker should be filled by some woman in the club who is a successful home-maker and who can spend some time in promoting the idea of better homes in the community.

It is proposed that each club arrange to select several pacemakers, and that each pacemaker plan to carry on some demonstration along his line of work. The Agricultural Extension Division will assist each pacemaker in planning his duties and his demonstration work. It is suggested further that the club arrange for a demonstration day, at which time the Extension Division will furnish speakers, the pacemakers will present reports, and a general inspection will be made of the demonstrations and the club work.

It would be entirely practical to choose as many pacemakers as there are members of the club, assigning to each one some particular phase of the community activity in which he is especially qualified. Each of these pacemakers, by specializing on one subject for a few months or for the year, would really become very proficient in that line and be able to be of great help to other members of the club. These pacemakers should be ready at all times to take part in the program and present briefly some development in their particular line of work. This plan has been found to help very much in getting up good, live programs.

COOPERATIVE EFFORT FOSTERED

Some of the following undertakings may well be fostered by the farmers' club. The producers in a community should decide on one variety of potatoes or other market crop to produce, and then find some way of marketing it jointly. One or two leading breeds of each kind of live-stock should be adopted by the club. Pure-bred sires may be purchased and used coöperatively, to the advantage of every one. Feed, flour, cement, and other supplies that can be handled in large lots, may be purchased coöperatively, usually at a considerable saving.

The question of organizing a live-stock shipping association is worth considering where live-stock is an important factor. Home conveniences and a beef club for supplying fresh meat should be considered. When dairying is important, the organization of a cow-testing association is valuable. In any neighborhood, community effort along the line of road improvement is worth very careful consideration. Such matters as organizing a creamery, cheese factory, or farmers' elevator, the purchase of a stallion, or the introduction of a general drainage system for the community, should be considered by the club and acted upon only after all the facts in the case are known. One of the latest attempts of a farmers' club is to organize a coöperative laundry in connection with a coöperative creamery. In short, every enterprise connected with the farms, homes, or schools may be profitably considered by the club.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSES OF THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY[1]

PREAMBLE

Profoundly impressed with the truth that the National Grange of the United States should definitely proclaim to the world its general objects, we hereby unanimously make this Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry:

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[1] From a pamphlet issued by the Grange.

GENERAL OBJECTS

1. United by the strong and faithful tie of Agriculture, we mutually resolve to labor for the good of our Order, our country and mankind.

2. We heartily endorse the motto "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity."

SPECIFIC OBJECTS

3. We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects:

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves; to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits; to foster mutual understanding and coöperation; to maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming; to reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate; to buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining; to diversify our crops and crop no more than we can cultivate; to condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece; less in lint, and more in warp and woof; to systematize our work and calculate intelligently on probabilities; to discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require. We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange. We shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good will, vital brotherhood among ourselves, and to make our Order perpetual. We shall earnestly endeavor to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry, all selfish ambition. Faithful adherence to these principles will insure our mental, moral, social and material advancement.

BUSINESS RELATIONS

4. For our business interests, we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence, we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits.

We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interests whatever. On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence, we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success, that their interests are intimately connected with our interests, and harmonious action is mutually advantageous, keeping in view the first sentence in our declaration of principles of action, that ''individual happiness depends upon general prosperity.''

We shall, therefore, advocate for every state the increase in every practicable way of all facilities for transporting cheaply to the seaboard, or between home producers and consumers all the productions of our country. We adopt it as our fixed purpose to ''open out the channels in nature's great arteries, that the life-blood of commerce may flow freely.''

We are not enemies of railroads, navigable and irrigating canals, nor of any corporation that will advance our industrial interests nor of any laboring classes.

In our noble Order there is no communism, no agrarianism.

We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people and rob them of their just rights. We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between capital and labor removed by common consent, and by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens, and do not bear a proper proportion to the profits of producers. We desire only self-protection, and the protection of every true interest of our land, by legitimate transactions, legitimate trade and legitimate profits.

EDUCATION

We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves, and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges that practical agriculture, domestic science and all the arts which adorn the home, be taught in their courses of study.

THE GRANGE NOT PARTISAN

5. We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange—National, State or Subordinate—is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss partisan or sectarian questions, nor call political conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings.

Yet the principles we teach underlie all true politics, all true statesmanship, and, if properly carried out, will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country. For we seek the greatest good to the greatest number.

We must always bear in mind that no one, by becoming a Patron of Husbandry, gives up that inalienable right and duty which belongs to every American citizen, to take a proper interest in the politics of his country.

On the contrary, it is right for every member to do all in his power legitimately to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs. It is his duty to do all he can to put down bribery, corruption and trickery; to see that none but competent, faithful and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our interests, are nominated for all positions of trust; and to have carried out the principle which should always characterize every Patron that

THE OFFICE SHOULD SEEK THE MAN, AND NOT THE MAN THE OFFICE.

We acknowledge the broad principle that difference of opinion is no crime, and hold that "progress toward truth is made by differences of opinion," while "the fault lies in bitterness of controversy."

We desire a proper equality, equity and fairness; protection for the weak; restraint upon the strong; in short, justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. These are American ideas, the very essence of American independence, and to advocate the contrary is unworthy of the sons and daughters of an American republic.

We cherish the belief that sectionalism is, and of right should be, dead and buried with the past. Our work is for the present and the future. In our agricultural brotherhood and its purposes we shall recognize no North, no South, no East and no West.

It is reserved by every Patron, as the right of a freeman, to affiliate with any party that will best carry out his principles.

OUTSIDE COOPERATION

6. Ours being peculiarly a farmers' institution, we can not admit all to our ranks.

Many are excluded by the nature of our organization, not because they are professional men, or artisans, or laborers, but because they have not a sufficiently direct interest in tilling the soil, or may have some interest in conflict with our purposes. But we appeal to all good citizens for their cordial coöperation and assistance in our efforts toward reform, that we may eventually remove from our midst the last vestige of tyranny and corruption.

We hail the general desire for fraternal harmony, equitable compromises and earnest coöperation, as an omen of our future success.

CONCLUSION

7. It shall be an abiding principle with us to relieve any of our oppressed and suffering brotherhood by any means at our command.

Last but not least, we proclaim it among our purposes to inculcate a proper appreciation of the abilities and sphere of woman as is indicated by admitting her to membership and position in our Order.

Imploring the continued assistance of our Divine Master to guide us in our work, we here pledge ourselves to faithful and harmonious labor for all future time, to return by our united efforts to the wisdom, justice, fraternity and political purity of our forefathers.

E. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

THE NATIONAL NONPARTISAN LEAGUE[1]

(Beginning in North Dakota as a movement of farmers, an association now calling itself the "National Nonpartisan League" is attracting wide attention in the field of politics and economic legislation. We present herewith an article explaining and supporting the movement, and a briefer one from the standpoint of those who oppose it. Both articles are written by editors of ability and much experience. Mr. John Thompson was for eight years connected with the *New York Times* and for an equal period the Managing Editor of *Pearson's Magazine.* He has recently gone to St. Paul and become actively connected with the Nonpartisan League. Mr. W. H. Hunter, who criticizes the League, is Managing Editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune.* He has had wide newspaper experience, having been Managing Editor of the *Washington* (*D. C.*) *Post*, and having held similarly important positions in a number of the leading newspaper offices of the western cities. Mr. Hunter is honest in opposing the Nonpartisan League as dangerous and reckless in its socialistic program, while Mr. Thompson is honestly supporting it as a beneficent movement.—THE EDITOR.)

I. THE LEAGUE'S WORK IN THE NORTHWEST

JOHN THOMPSON

THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE was formed in North Dakota in the spring of 1915. The grain buyers had instituted and controlled a marketing system of great injustice to the farmers. The politicians, controlling the State machinery, had refused to permit the votes of the people to change the system. The league was formed to overcome these things and to give to the farmers of the States fair marketing facilities.

ABUSES IN GRADING AND DOCKAGE

The principal product of North Dakota is wheat. Wheat for selling is classed into grades. The grading for North Dakota and for the whole Northwest had been done by the grain exchanges—in short, by the buyers. It has been shown that between September, 1910, and August, 1912, the terminal elevators at Minneapolis received 15,571,575 bushels of No. 1 Northern Wheat, and that during that same period these same elevators shipped out 19,978,777 bushels of the same grade. The elevators had no wheat of this grade at the beginning of the period, but they did have 114,454 bushels at the end.

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[1] Adapted from *Review of Reviews,* Vol. 57, 397–401, April, 1918.

During the same period these elevators received 20,413,584 bushels of No. 2 Northern and shipped out 22,242,410 bushels.

Thus the elevators shipped out more than 6,000,000 bushels of the two higher grades, Nos. 1 and 2, for which they never paid the price for those grades. What happened is this: The elevators graded the farmers' wheat down to 3 and 4 when they were buying it; when they were selling it, more than 6,000,000 bushels that had been bought as 3 and 4 were sold as 1 and 2. The lower grades brought prices from 2 to 12 cents per bushel less than the higher grades. On examination, statistics show similar results in other years.

Dockage in grain is another effective way in which the farmers were robbed of their crops. There has been a dockage valuation of $30 and $35 on every 1000 bushels of wheat. The farmer pays the freight; and it has been shown before a Minnesota Legislative Committee that for more than ten years a freightage overcharge totaling about $5,000 a month has been collected as switching charges. In short, grading and dockage had cost the farmers of North Dakota alone millions of dollars every year.

TO NORTH DAKOTA FARMERS: "GO HOME AND SLOP THE PIGS"

The farmers of North Dakota thought that the public ownership of elevators would help them to get fair marketing facilities. They tried for ten years through ordinary political channels to get the State to build elevators. Twice the State legislature, under the pressure of the farmers, instituted amendments to the constitution permitting the State to build elevators.

Twice the people of the State, by an enormous majority each time, confirmed the proposed amendment. Twice the machinery of the State government refused to obey the people's will. The last refusal was during the legislative session of 1915. Hundreds of farmers went to the State Capitol in an effort to impress upon the lawmakers the sentiment of the people of the State. They were told to "go home and slop the pigs." The politicians said that they knew what was good for the farmer —he didn't; let him do what he knew how to do—"slop the pigs."

A LEAGUE WITHOUT "POLITICS"

Then A. C. Townley suggested that the farmers take control of the state machinery—they being the majority of the people of the State. He suggested that the farmers organize themselves into a league without political partisanship, for the purpose of taking control of the state machinery. They organized the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota. At the following election the league cast 87,000 out of 110,000 votes. It elected every state officer except one. It elected a majority of the Legislature. The farmers of North Dakota are now in a fair way to get proper marketing facilities.

The injustice in marketing farm products does not apply to North Dakota only. It applies to every State in the Union. In North Dakota, it is a matter of wheat; in Texas, it is a matter of cotton. In each of these States, and in every other State, the price of the farmers' products is fixed by the buyers. In no State is the farmers' cost considered. It is the buyer's business to buy as cheaply as he can, and he does it. The problem for the producer is always the same.

ORGANIZATION IN THIRTEEN STATES

The producers in neighboring States, observing what North Dakota has done, decided to do the same thing. They asked Mr. Townley and the men who had organized the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota to organize in their States. So the idea spread. The Nonpartisan League of North Dakota became the National Nonpartisan League. It is organized, or is organizing, in thirteen States—Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas.

The method of organizing the league is to send men from farmer to farmer, who explain to them the purpose of the league. Before the farmer joins he understands its whole purpose. When he understands the purpose he joins. He sees where it benefits him. This comprehension by the farmer of just what the organization means to do is the precise reason why the political opponents of the league can have no influence upon the farmer after he has joined. The farmer knows what he has done, and he knows why he has done it. He is fortified against the fallacious arguments of partisan politicians.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP THE CORNERSTONE

The basis of the league idea is public ownership. Public ownership of public necessities will mean fair marketing facilities for the producer. It will mean fair purchasing facilities for the consumer. The purpose of a man handling farm products on their way from the field to the table is to make money. The products are handled by various men and each man makes his profit. Some of these men are entirely unnecessary to proper distribution.

The league's plan is for the public—the State—to build, own and control the facilities for carrying products of the farm to the city, at the cost of carrying it. The purpose of these State-owned facilities will be to store and transform raw food into eatable food, at the cost of transformation. Thus the great spread between the price the producer gets and the price the consumer pays will be reduced. Undoubtedly the producer of the raw food will get more for his product. He should get more. He must get more. He must get enough to make farming profitable, or he must quit farming.

Transforming raw food into eatable food at cost, eliminating all useless handling and useless profits, certainly means that the eatable food reaches the consumer at a lower price than it now reaches him. The same process, when applied to the products of the city worker, means that the farmer will buy his supplies at lower prices than he now pays. Neither the city worker nor the farm worker will have to pay the profit upon profit that he now pays for so many useless handlings. The thing is perfectly simple. It is so simple that the political opponents of the league do not attack it.

LEADERS ATTACKED FOR "DISLOYALTY"

Politicians, of course, do attack the National Nonpartisan League. They see that the league is about to take control of States other than North Dakota. They do not like this. They see that they cannot break down the league's principles. They have to break the league down in some way, however, or they will cease to control. So they attack its leaders. They call them names. They say they are "crooks" and "Socialists." They have even charged the league with being disloyal to the United States Government.

The charge seems to have been founded on certain thoughts expressed last spring by league men as to the conduct of the war. These are the thoughts:

Profiteering should be eliminated.

When the price of wheat was fixed it was urged that the price of all necessary commodities be fixed in proportion.

It was urged that a definite statement of war aims be made, and what those aims should be was suggested.

It was urged that the principles of man conscription be applied to wealth; that the war be financed, first, from the pockets of the men best able to spare the money.

REALLY WITH PRESIDENT WILSON

Now observe:

The National Government is doing all that it can to eliminate profiteering.

It is also urging upon Congress that prices be fixed on all necessary commodities.

The President has stated our war aims, and his statement does not differ materially from the aims suggested by the league.

Thus, three of the four thoughts for which league men have been called disloyal are also the thoughts of the national Administration. The fourth, wealth conscription, has been urged by many prominent men who have not been called disloyal. The fact is that in the matter of the war the National Nonpartisan League stands squarely with President Wilson.

THE NORTH DAKOTA PROGRAM

The accomplishments of the league in a political way have been the capture and control of the State of North Dakota. The main program of the league for North Dakota—State-built elevators and flour mills—has not yet been accomplished, because at the last election twenty-four State Senators were not up for election. At the legislative session these twenty-four hold-over Senators succeeded in preventing amendments to the State constitution that would have permitted the State to build elevators and flour mills at once. These twenty-four hold-over Senators will be up for election in November. They will not hold over. At the same election the necessary amendments to the Constitution will be initiated by the people.

Much legislation, however, beneficial to the State was enacted. Executive acts of the State officers have been of even more benefit. Economic accomplishments have resulted entirely from political accomplishments.

A grain-grading commission has been formed.

Rural schools have been standardized. Rural schools have been given better teachers. They are having better attendance and better health.

An inheritance tax was levied on large fortunes.

Votes were given to women.

Money was appropriated for experiments at the Agricultural College, by which it has been proven that low-grade wheat at 70 cents per bushel was worth, for making flour, pound for pound, as much as high grades selling at $1.70 per bushel.

New taxation classifications were adopted, which reduced the rate for improvements upon farm lands and passed part of the burden of taxation on to the corporations that had been dodging taxation since the beginning of time.

A dairy commission was provided.

A license system for creameries was established.

Guarantee of bank deposits was provided for.

A welfare commission was created.

In all, thirty-two remedial steps were taken for the benefit of the people of the State. Briefly, it is estimated that each farmer has saved, under the present State management, from $800 to $1,000.

THE NATIONAL PROGRAM

The National Nonpartisan League, or some other organization embodying the ideas that are its basis, will control the United States. There is no way to stop it, for the simple reason that people cannot be prevented from thinking. As people think they see the justice of the thing and what it means to themselves. As they see that, they adopt it. The war is making people think faster than ever. If public ownership and control is good for a nation at war, it is good for a nation at peace. The people see that public ownership of public necessities is an absolute requirement of a life scheme that will give each man a chance to live healthfully, properly to educate his children, and to have some of the little enjoyments of life.

To that end the National Nonpartisan League will have candidates for State and national office in those States in which organization has reached the point where the members want to endorse candidates. Indications seem to point to the election of from fifteen to twenty Congressmen this year.

The most significant indication observed at the office of the Nonpartisan League at this time is the great interest in the movement shown by the people in States in which the League has made no effort to organize. In the national headquarters hundreds of letters are received every day asking for information. These letters do not all come from farmers. The fact is that the greater part of them are now coming from industrial centers. The industrial worker sees that the league's plan for providing proper marketing facilities will benefit him just as much as it does those who produce the food.

Experience has shown that little benefit for the common people can be obtained except through control of political machinery. This principle applies to the national government just as it does to State government. The national Congress has taken more steps for the protection and interests of business enterprises than it has for the protection and interests of the majority of the people. This is due largely to the fact that business enterprises have control of political power. The men who have been elected have felt in some measure that they owed their election to business enterprises. A man naturally will respect the interests of the person to whom he owes his position.

The National Nonpartisan League is now composed of farm workers. Industrial workers are showing an intense interest in it. These workers form the majority of the people of the United States. The political coalition of these workers means political power for them. They will send men to Washington who owe their election to them. These office-holders will respond to the interests of those who sent them to Washington. The result will be legislation beneficial to the majority instead of to the few. It cannot be otherwise. That is the broad purpose of the National Nonpartisan League.

II. WHY THE LEAGUE IS OPPOSED

W. H. HUNTER

The cardinal count in the indictment against the National Nonpartisan League, on which its managers and promoters are seeking a verdict of "not guilty" by a jury of the public, is disloyal leadership.

Political leaders of the League, than whom the country has produced no shrewder or more resourceful, are contending that the farmer is down-trodden and oppressed, that every man's hand is against him and that for his own salvation his hand must be against every man. They have sought to embitter the farmer against bankers, grain-dealers, elevator-operators and millers and to ally the laboring men of the cities with the farmer by the contention that this is a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight," that while the farmers and laboring men are bearing the brunt of the fighting, the manufacturers and business men generally are piling up wealth, through munitions-making and profiteering.

It is ostensibly to protect the farmers against this kind of oppression that the National Nonpartisan League has organized in a half-dozen States in which farmers are in the majority, and the fallacy of the contention is plain on the face of it. The farmers are in a healthy majority in North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Montana, and in every State in which the League is active. The history of these States, from the days of the Ocala platform down to the last election, shows that the farmers have never failed to have their rights recognized and their wrongs redressed by legislative action. They are and have always been in the majority in these States, and the claims of the League leaders to-day assume the form of a plea by the majority to be protected from the wiles and machinations of a wicked minority.

The cuttlefish when attacked sheds ink to becloud the waters and elude pursuit. The League leaders are playing the rôle of political cuttlefish just now and trying to becloud the political waters by claiming that the wicked interests are trying to prevent the farmers from organizing. There is not and has not been anywhere in Minnesota or the Dakotas the slightest opposition to farmers' organizations. The opposition to the Nonpartisan League, an opposition that in Minnesota is assuming menacing form, is caused, not by the organization of farmers, but by the secret or open disloyalty of leaders of the League. The line is being closely drawn in Minnesota between the loyalists and the disloyalists, and no less a person than the Governor of the State, J. A. A. Burnquist, elected by farmers' votes and by the largest majority ever given a Governor of the State, has openly placed the leaders of the National Nonpartisan League in the disloyal class. The president of the League is under indictment in two Minnesota counties for obstructing the draft. The manager of the League has been convicted of a like offense, and other organizers and representatives of the League have been charged with obstructing the draft.

BUSINESS INTERESTS SCENT SOCIALISM

It is true that the business interests, both big and little, of the Northwest are opposed to the Nonpartisan League and fear it. This opposition and fear are based on the League's record in North Dakota, where only the existence of a hold-over State Senate, not elected by the League, prevented North Dakota from going ''whole hog'' into the experiment of a Socialist State government. The League attempted to adopt a new constitution for North Dakota by act of the legislature, instead of by vote of the people. It proposed to remove the limit of indebtedness that might be incurred by the State or any political division thereof. It proposed to exempt farm improvements from taxation and to authorize the issue of currency by State banks. It proposed State ownership of flour mills, terminal elevators, railroads, packing houses and to allow the State to engage in any and all forms of business and industry. It proposed that ''three bona fide farmers'' should be elected to the Supreme Court of the State. It proposed State Socialism on a scale never before attempted in this country and never attempted anywhere except quite recently by Lenine and Trotzky in Russia.

Objection has been offered, also, by the business interests against the plan of a chain of coöperative stores and banks, proposed by the League leaders and for which more than $1,000,000 have been subscribed by the farmers who have no voice in the control of these enterprises, no share of dividends and no control of funds, but who have the privilege of trading at such stores ''at cost, plus 10 per cent.,'' for cash. The League is opposed also because its leaders are avowed Socialists and in favor of applying the most radical Socialistic theories to the government of the States in which they secure control.

SOME OF THE DEMANDS REASONABLE

But these questions can be fought out in peace times, just as the fallacies of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist party were rejected and the meritorious measures adopted by the legislatures of those days. No one contends that all of the claims of the Nonpartisan League are unjustified. Some of them are just and must be recognized by legislative action. The difficulty with the farmer to-day is that, because of the abolition of party lines through the nonpartisan primary laws, in force throughout the Northwest, he feels the lack of leadership, the need of organization through which to make his appeals and demands for legislative action. With every politician for himself, no responsibility anywhere, the farmer, who is naturally a conservative, is forced to turn to radical leaders who want to lead him into the mire of Socialism.

"POOR TRAY"

Keep this honest farmer in mind; see into what company he is drawn when he rallies to the standard of the National Nonpartisan League. Hundreds of meetings called by that organization in Minnesota have been suppressed and the organization has been barred from holding meetings in many counties because the sheriffs and loyal citizens have become convinced that such meetings, if permitted, would end in riot and bloodshed. This is not at the dictation of "Big Business." These meetings have been banned by the sheriffs and other peace officers elected by the votes of farmers, by men who know their neighbors and know where they stand on war questions. The meetings have been banned because whenever one has been permitted, it has served as a rallying center for professional pacifists, every pro-German for miles around, for I. W. W. preachers of sabotage and for Socialist spell-binders openly opposing the draft. These same Socialists, who have been active in helping the League leaders, have nominated for Governor of Minnesota a man who has been convicted for obstructing the draft and a candidate for State Senator who is under conviction for seditious utterances, and they were nominated on a platform which demanded the repeal of the draft act, endorsed the Russian Bolsheviki, expressed sympathy and support for the I. W. W. leaders under indictment at Chicago, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of our forces from France.

F. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

HOW TO ORGANIZE A COMMUNITY

E. L. MORGAN

It is impossible to set up any one particular way of organizing a community and expect it to work in every detail in all parts of the state. The thing needed is for the town to get clearly

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[1] Adapted from "Mobilizing the Rural Community," The Massachusetts Agricultural College, Extension Service, Extension Bulletin No. 23, Amherst, Sept., 1918.

in mind the idea that the most efficient method must be used, and, owing to varying local conditions, each community has its own starting point at which the beginning must be made, that it is only through coöperation and united action that agriculture and community life are going to be developed and that the goal to be attained is the community united and working together in the carrying out of a definite, practical, long-term plan of development along those lines of greater interest.

The most successful communities have found the following principles to be indispensable in their development:

1. In any redirection of rural interests the community is the natural unit of activity.

2. The progress of the rural community represents one problem and one only. This problem has a number of phases but they are all parts of the whole and must be dealt with as such if substantial progress is to be made.

3. Improvement plans must be based on actual farm and village conditions. They must be based on facts—guessing must be eliminated.

4. Those things by which the people live must be adequately organized if substantial community progress is to be brought about. These are usually expressed through local organizations, unorganized group interests, or both. This does not mean that something new must be organized. It means that the various elements of the community must get into the best possible working relation to each other so they will become an harmonious working unit—the team work idea.

There are three forms which have been used in this State, each one applying to different conditions. The first two are thought of as stepping stones toward the third.

1. *The Local Leader.* There are many towns in which there is very little interest in matters of progress. In these cases about the only possibility lies in the efforts of a few local leaders to awaken general interest by bringing about some special events which will be sufficiently interesting to create a desire for something of a more permanent nature. In some towns a teacher, minister, farmer, or doctor has been the local leader and by working through the school, church, grange, or farmers' club has produced valuable results. Some of these results have been:

A farmers' institute.
A community day.
Pure-bred livestock improvement.
Community celebrations—Christmas, July 4th, Thanksgiving.
Plays and pageants.
A public forum.
A town agricultural fair and exhibit.
The keeping of farm accounts.
Home and public grounds improvement contest.

The Group Plan. In every town there are people whose interests are the same and who can work together for particular improvements with the community idea in mind before it is possible to get the town as a whole together on a larger and more thorough development plan. This is called the group plan of work. It differs from the first in that it is not usually done through existing organizations but often results in the forming of a new organization for some specific purpose. Like the first plan, it should be thought of as a step toward the larger and more complete community development. Some things that have been done under this plan are:

Formation of a farmers' coöperative exchange for buying and selling. The third year business amounted to $21,000.
Organization of a home makers' club directed by the women's section of the farm bureau.
Starting of a cow test association.
Organization of a coöperative creamery.
Formation of a local breeders' association.

3. *The Community Council.* As has been stated, the two plans just mentioned should not be thought of as the end. They are good, in and of themselves, and well worth doing, but let us not lose sight of the fact that the work to be done requires an all-around community development. It may be necessary to do these specific pieces of work but let us think of them as a part of the preparation for a complete organization of the community. We believe the following to be the more complete plan. It is the result of several years' trial in this state and has been an evolution born of the experience of common folks. It will

always need to be adapted to local conditions but the principles are the same. The steps usually taken are:

1. Conference of a Few. Some local leader should call together one representative from each local organization or group and a few at large to consider: (a) The possibilities of and benefits to be derived from a general get-together for definite planning of the future of the community. (b) Whether the town cares to put in the necessary time, money and brains to produce results or whether it prefers to let "well enough" alone and let the future take care of itself. At this time it is best to have some one present from the Farm Bureau or Agricultural College to tell of the success of other towns and make clear the necessary steps.

2. Organization Representatives. These representatives should report to their respective organizations, each of which should appoint one permanent representative to become a part of the joint committee or council of organizations. There should also be chosen three or more members at large. This council is not another organization. It is merely the coördination of all local interests for united action.

3. The First Work. There are three specific things which a community council should do at first:

a. Bring about a thorough understanding among the various local organizations as to just what each is doing, viz.:
   - Get a statement of the present purpose of each organization.
   - Exchange plans of work for the next six months.
   - Work out a calendar of gatherings of every sort for the next six months. Arrange these chronologically so that conflicts may be avoided.

b. Take up any specific items of community interest which should receive immediate attention.
   - Consider special problems in agriculture or community life that need to be met at once.
   - Develop plans for community celebrations such as: Christmas, July 4th, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, etc. Plans to to be carried out by local organizations, not by the council.

c. Call in representatives of county organizations and ascertain what work they are prepared to coöperate in for your town. These should include:

District Officer of the State Department of Health.
The Farm-Bureau or Improvement League.
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
County Young Men's Christian Association.
County Nursing Association.
The Boy Scouts and others.

4. THE FIRST COMMUNITY MEETING. Plenty of time should be allowed to insure a perfect understanding among the local organizations. Sometimes this takes a year, but it is time well spent. After the items mentioned in (3) have been achieved the council should begin to consider the larger planning for the community. Call a community meeting to consider the questions mentioned under (1) and these only.

A chairman and secretary should be elected and all mention of specific items of improvement avoided at this time, as it may often reopen old issues and arouse antagonism just at the time when the greatest harmony is needed. It will be found worth while to have some one present from a town that has made a success of community organization. The whole matter should be thoroughly discussed from all possible angles and a vote taken to determine whether the people really desire to go ahead.

5. COMMITTEES. If action is favorable, a few committees should be appointed. It is better to have a few general committees with sub-committees. The following have been found sufficient for all practical purposes:—

a. FARM PRODUCTION—soil, crops, animals.
b. FARM BUSINESS—farm supplies, sale of products, credit, farm records and accounts, surveys.
In some communities it is advisable to combine the committees on farm production and farm business into one committee on agriculture.
c. CONSERVATION—purchase and use of food, canning, drying and storing, fuel supply, natural resources, points of scenic and historical value.
d. BOYS' AND GIRLS' INTERESTS—schools, educational clubs, social clubs, moral training, plays and games.

e. Community Life—the home, education, health, transportation, recreation, civic improvement, public morality.

These committees should be asked to do three things: (a) Study the town thoroughly along their respective lines. (b) Call in whatever help can be secured from state and county organizations, boards and institutions. (c) Work out two or three practical projects for improvement which will be submitted to the second mass meeting. These projects should be based on actual needs.

6. The Second Community Meeting. This should be merely an unofficial town meeting. The chairman of the first mass meeting should preside. The committee chairman should report their projects which should be taken up separately and put to a vote just like an article in the town warrant. While there will be nothing official or binding in this vote, still it will give sufficient attention to each project to prevent worthless ones being passed. Here again everybody should have his say, for it is better for opposition to appear now than later. Do not forget that a community will go no farther nor faster in its development than the majority of the people both see and believe.

7. The Community Plan or Program. Such projects as are adopted become the community's working program. It should comprise some projects which can be carried out at once and others which will require a period of years. The projects adopted are turned over to the community council, which acts as their custodian and directs their carrying out.

8. Getting Results. The local organizations carry out the specific projects. As their representatives come together in the council they either choose or by general consent are asked to become responsible for definite things. They do this knowing that they will have the sympathy and support of other organizations and also that they will be expected to produce results. If there are projects which no organization can carry on, such as coöperative buying and selling, it may be necessary to organize a new group to do this work.

9. Council Meetings. The council should meet regularly every three months, with special meetings as necessity requires. These meetings should be real conferences on the most important

community matters. Reports should be made of work done by the various organizations, concerning the projects adopted and carried out by them. The remaining projects should be gone over to ascertain whether any of them can be begun during the coming three months. Other matters than the specific projects often come up at this time and receive consideration.

10. The Annual Community Meeting. Instead of one of the quarterly meetings of the council there should be a meeting of the entire community. This should take the form of an annual meeting. Three things should be done:

1. Reports should be made of work done by any organization or group during the past year.
2. The council committees should report the working plans for the coming year.
3. The chairman, secretary and committees for the ensuing year should be chosen.

In addition to these matters of business there is usually a speaker from the outside who discusses some question of special interest to the community at that particular time. Special community meetings should be called as often as there are vital questions to be considered by the community.

MODEL AGREEMENT FOR A COMMUNITY COUNCIL

Article I

Name and Object

There is hereby created the......................Community Council to serve as a medium through which the organizations of.................. (town) can coöperate more fully in their work for community progress.

Article II

Membership

Membership shall consist of one representative from each general organization or group of the community and three (five to seven in large towns) selected at large. Those selected by organizations or groups shall be from their own membership and shall be chosen as soon as possible after October 1st of each year.

Article III

Officers

The officers shall comprise chairman and secretary who shall be chosen at the annual community meeting.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

The council shall meet every three months, viz.: The first Monday evening in March, June, September, and December. Meetings of special groups of citizens may be called when necessary to carry out special lines of work. Special meetings may be called by the chairman or by any five members.

ARTICLE V

Annual Community Meeting

The council shall arrange for an annual community meeting to be held on or near the first Monday of December, at which time reports shall be made on the progress of the town. At this time projects for the ensuing year shall be presented and voted upon. Such projects as are adopted shall become a part of the working program.

ARTICLE VI

Amendments

This agreement may be altered or amended by a two-thirds vote of the residents of the town of..........................present at the annual community meeting.

WHAT MAY BE GAINED THROUGH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

1. It gives purpose to the energies of the community.
2. It secures the best available advice at all points.
3. Guessing is eliminated since projects for improvement are based on facts.
4. The progress of the community is put on a practical, business-like basis.
5. One-sided development is avoided.
6. It gives the best possible working plan for the development of the community.
7. The development of community spirit, pride and purpose is fostered. Self-interest gives place to community interest.
8. When this community of interest is developed, it causes many forms of local coöperation to follow naturally.
9. It gives the advantage of using a tried method that is working successfully in many towns. It is no longer an experiment.
10. The community is connected with the sources of continuous help—The Farm-Bureau, Agricultural College, State Department of Health, State Board of Agriculture, State Board of Education, Massachusetts Civic League, Society for the Preven-

tion of Cruelty to Children, County Y. M. C. A. and many others.

11. It insures future welfare. Community organization means to the community what scientific management means to business. The community improves by methods similar to those of a careful business manager:—long-term planning, constant watchfulness, striving toward perfection in all departments and a thorough coördination of them all.

SOME THINGS TO REMEMBER

1. Get the community *planning idea*, talk it, work it.
2. Take the long *look ahead* into all community affairs.
3. Get *everybody out* for the first mass meeting. You can't *convince people* who are not present.
4. The community council *is not* a new organization but just a *form of get-together* of local forces.
5. Don't get discouraged. It *takes time* to bring about maximum efficiency.
6. Study *your town*. Make plans meet *actual needs*. Call in outside help.
7. Plan some project in *each line* of improvement such as agriculture, education, the home, health, etc.
8. If one organization becomes *responsible* for a project, *back it up* and help to carry it out successfully.
9. Committees are not to do things but to *work out projects* to be carried out by the *organizations*.
10. Your community has *its own place* to begin. Be careful how you start. It is better to do *one or two things well* than to undertake too much.
11. Get the *best possible advice* in working out projects. Help can always be secured from your Farm-Bureau and your Agricultural College.
12. Be sure of the success of the *first project* attempted. *Do not* let it fail, for upon its success may depend the *continued interest* of the community.
13. Community organization *is not* "just some new-fangled notion." It is merely the *most efficient way* of doing things. It has *stood the test* of time in this state. It has *made good*.

14. The council should meet *once in three months* and plan the carrying out of projects.

15. Don't get the "town boosting" idea. This is a clean-cut *business proposition* and it needs *careful planning.* This will *take time.*

DEFINITION OF A RURAL COMMUNITY[1]

C. W. THOMPSON

A RURAL community may be defined as a localized group of individuals having certain common interests, purposes and activities, with the dominant economic interests in agriculture. Before the people in a rural locality can be regarded as a community they must be conscious of some common interests. They must also be led on by those interests to certain common purposes, expressed in common action.

A rural community, like an individual, may be very much alive or it may not be alive at all. The measure of the life of a community may be found in the number of interactions between the community as such, and its own members or the outside world.

A rural community may be static, with interests, purposes, and activities, which do not change. For such a community, the main problem is one of adaptation to fixed conditions. On the other hand, a rural community may be dynamic or progressive in its interests, purposes, and activities, enlarging its life in the light of new experience.

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[1] From an unpublished address given before the Graduate School of Agriculture, Amherst, Mass., 1916.

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CHAPTER XIX

LEADERSHIP

LEADERSHIP OR PERSONAL ASCENDENCY[1]

CHARLES R. COOLEY

It is plain that the theory of ascendency involves the question of the mind's relative valuation of the suggestions coming to it from other minds; leadership depending upon the efficacy of a personal impress on to awaken feeling, thought, action, and so to become a cause of life. While there are some men who seem but to add one to the population, there are others whom we cannot help thinking about; they lend arguments to their neighbors' creeds, so that the life of their contemporaries, and perhaps of following generations, is notably different because they have lived. The immediate reason for this difference is evidently that in the one case there is something seminal or generative in the relation between the personal impression a man makes and the mind that receives it, which is lacking in the other case.

We are born with what may be roughly described as a vaguely differentiated mass of mental tendency, vast and potent, but unformed and needing direction. This instinctive material is believed to be the outcome of age-long social development in the race, and hence to be, in a general way, expressive of that development and functional in its continuance. The process of evolution has established a probability that a man will find himself at home in the world into which he comes, and prepared to share in its activities.

Obscurely locked within him, inscrutable to himself as to others, is the soul of the whole past, his portion of the energy, the passion, the tendency, of human life. Its existence creates a vague need to live, to feel, to act; but he cannot fulfill this need, at least not in a normal way, without incitement from outside to loosen and direct his instinctive aptitude. There is explosive material stored up in him, but it cannot go off unless the right spark reaches it, and that spark is usually some sort of a personal suggestion, some living trait that sets life free and turns restlessness into power.

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[1] Adapted from "Human Nature and the Social Order," Chap. IX, pp. 283–286, 293–294, 297 and 310. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1902.

It must be evident that we can look for no cut-and-dried theory of this life-imparting force, no algebraic formula for leadership.

The prime condition of ascendency is the presence of undirected energy in the person over whom it is to be exercised: it is not so much forced upon us from without as demanded from within. The mind, having energy, must work, and requires a guide, a form of thought, to facilitate its working. All views of life are fallacious which do not recognize the fact that the primary need is the need to do. Every healthy organism evolves energy, and this must have an outlet.

If we ask what are the mental traits that distinguish a leader, the only answer seems to be that he must, in one way or another, be a great deal of a man, or at least appear to be. He must stand for something to which men incline, and so take his place by right as a focus of their thought.

To be a great deal of a man, and hence a leader, involves, on the one hand, a significant individuality, and, on the other, breadth of sympathy, the two being different phases of personal caliber, rather than separate traits. It is because a man cannot stand for anything except as he has a significant individuality, that self-reliance is so essential a trait in leadership.

All leadership takes place through the communication of ideas to the minds of others, and unless the ideas are so presented as to be congenial to those other minds, they will evidently be rejected.

In face-to-face relations, then, the natural leader is one who always has the appearance of being master of the situation. He includes other people and extends beyond them, and so is in a position to point out what they must do next. Intellectually his suggestion seems to embrace what is best in the views of others, and to embody the inevitable conclusion; it is the timely, the fit, and so the prevalent. Emotionally his belief is the strongest force present, and so draws other beliefs into it. Yet, while he imposes himself upon others, he feels the other selves as part of the situation, and so adapts himself to them that no opposition is awakened; or possibly he may take the violent method, and browbeat and humiliate a weak mind; there are various ways of establishing superiority, but in one way or another the consummate leader always accomplishes it.

The onward and aggressive portion of the world, the people who do things, the young and all having surplus energy, need to hope and strive for an imaginative object, and they will follow no one who does not encourage this tendency. The first requisite of a leader is, not to be right, but to lead, to show a way.

LEADERSHIP[1]

E. C. HAYES

Leadership consists largely in putting the proper ideas into the minds of the individuals who are in a position to give them effect and still more in supplying courage. Most things really worth doing have at first seemed impracticable to the average person. But when there appears an individual having not only sufficient imagination and enlightenment to see what should be done, but also sufficient courage to believe that it can be done, the probability of the achievement has begun. The question of possibility or impossibility with reference to social improvements is largely one of psychic attitude of the people. The question with respect to most desirable social changes is not, could people bring them about if they would, but will they will to do so? Such changes are thought impossible, and for the time being are so, because men do not believe their neighbors will do their duty. The man who first says, "I, for one, will, and we together can," who breaks down the hypnotism of the present reality, who exhibits confidence to his fellows, who makes individuals begin to think "my neighbors will do their duty and therefore it is worth while for me to do mine," thereby creates new social possibilities.

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[1] Adapted from Introduction to the Study of Sociology, pp. 57–58, Appleton, N. Y., 1919.

RURAL LEADERSHIP[1]

L. H. BAILEY

Rural leadership lies in taking hold of the first and commonest problems that present themselves and working them out. Every community has its problems. Some one can aid to solve these problems. The size of the problem does not matter, if only some one takes hold of it and shakes it out. I like to say to my students that they should attack the first problem that presents itself when they alight from the train on their return from college. It may be a problem of roads; of a poor school; of tuberculosis in the herds; of ugly signs along the highways, where no man has a moral right to advertise private business; of a disease of apple trees; of poor seed; of the drainage of a field; of an improved method of growing a crop; of the care of the forests. Any young man can concentrate the sentiment of the community on a problem of the community. One problem solved or alleviated, and another awaits. The next school district needs help, the next town, the next county, the next state. Every able countryman has much more power than he uses.

The scale of effort in the open country is so uniform that it ought to be easy to rise above it. I do not see how it is possible for an educated young man to avoid developing leadership in the open country, if only he attacks a plain homely problem, is not above it and sticks to it.

It does not follow that all leadership will be reached for. It will come to a man.

THE SECRET OF INFLUENCE[2]

JAMES BRYCE

There are at least four elements, two or more of which will be found to be always present in whoever leads, or is trusted by, or inspires those among whom his lot is cast. The first is intellectual independence and the thing we call initiative, by which I mean the power of thinking for one's self instead of borrowing thoughts from others, and of deciding on a course for one's self instead of following the advice of others.

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[1] Adapted from "The State and the Farmer," pp. 172–176, (Macmillan, N. Y., 1908).

[2] Adapted from *Chambers' Journal*, 7th Series, Vol. I.

The second is tenacity of purpose, the capacity to adhere to a view once adopted or a decision once taken. Whoever, wanting this, lets himself be blown about by every wind of doctrine or every pressure of menace or persuasion may be a very acute man or a very adroit man, but will never impress himself on others as a person to be followed.

The third element is a sound judgment, fit to forcast the results of action. Few people can look beyond the next move on the chess-board, and the man who sees several moves ahead, and whose forecast is verified by the events, soon grows to be the man whose advice is sought and taken. His neighbors seek it. Any assembly where he finds himself, from a town meeting or a local school committee up to a legislature, gladly listens to his counsels.

The last is sympathy—that is, having the capacity for entering into the thoughts of others and of evoking their feelings by showing that he can share them. The power of sympathy is so far an affair of the emotions that it may exist in persons of no exceptional abilities. Yet it is a precious gift which often palliates errors and wins affection in spite of faults and weaknessses. It is a key to unlock men's hearts, and the heart that has given confidences attaches itself to the person who has received them, and is prone to surrender itself to him if he is felt to be strong.

TRAINING FOR RURAL LEADERSHIP[1]

JOHN M. GILLETTE

When the rural problem arose in its full significance, almost the entire emphasis was placed on organization, so that organization became the shibboleth, and the economic factor received almost exclusive consideration. But with the passage of time the farmers have become wiser and, imbued with a larger degree of humanistic sentiment, they are now discussing what sort of institutions will turn out the best men and women. And it is very significant that the perception has gradually arisen that a rural leadership is an indispensable means to the attainment of permanent improvement.

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[1] Adapted from "Training for Rural Leadership," *Annals of the American Academy*, LXVII: 87–96, September, 1916.

I consider the prime requisites of a productive rural leadership the power of initiative, organizing ability, sympathy with human aims, trained intelligence, and vision and outlook. Up to the present time, for community purposes, the country has depended on a transient leadership from the outside in the shape of itinerant preachers and teachers, and for purposes of production, on the occasional able farmer and the visiting expert. Due reflection over the situation leads us to think that such sources will never prove sufficient or efficient, and that what the country wants most is men and women who by their training are at one with farm life and whose influence is ever present because they live in the country and have their interests there.

Several kinds of agencies may contribute toward supplying a leadership of the right kind. Our institutions of higher learning must devote more attention to training men and women for country service. Those which train pastors, teachers and Y. M. C. A. workers should establish courses of instruction, the content, spirit and emphasis of which will serve to specialize their students for constructive work in rural institutions. The nature of the rural community must be emphasized, its particular problems studied, and the agencies capable of supplementing and improving agricultural life receive much consideration. When training schools renounce the absurd notion that general training courses qualify equally well for rural and urban service, a great step in advance will have been taken. Educating individuals specifically for rural service has the double advantage of qualifying them to carry on constructive undertakings and of retaining them in that service because their qualifications tend to make them ineligible for urban positions.

Much is being accomplished by the county agent and the cooperative demonstrator which the agricultural colleges have educated for country service. The various states are, especially, placing many county agents in the field, and they have proved themselves helpful in furthering not only production but community undertakings of different kinds. Many states have county and city high schools which are giving instruction in agriculture and farm subjects, and the occasional state agricultural high school is a still more intensified approach to the desired goal. Summer chautauquas with their lectures and instruction on farm life and with their visiting groups of farm boys and girls; farmers' institutes; farmers' clubs, and associations of farmers' clubs; and kindred organizations are helpfully contributing to the establishment of a constructive point of view concerning farm life and its problems.

However, the institution which is needed to reach the masses of country children and to do most to create an abiding interest in rural affairs is one which is located in the rural neighborhood, which touches and ministers to the lives of the residents daily, and which, filled with an agrarian content and spirit, exercises an abiding, molding influence on the young in the direction of rural undertakings and improvement. The consolidated rural school, with communityized building and equipment, a corps of efficient teachers, a teacherage, experimental plot, graded and ruralized curriculum, and having high school facilities as an organic part of the socialized course of instruction, possesses the greatest power of appeal because it is articulated with actual farm life and because it is within reach of all.

THE SOURCES OF LEADERSHIP[1]

JOHN R. BOARDMAN

THERE are four distinct sources which may be expected to yield valuable material for the various leadership positions in the social organization. The first and most obvious is the group of persons who are already leaders. Attention is called to this source because it demands careful examination. Are these leaders being used in their proper places and if so is their leadership ability being used to its full power? Are these leaders doing more than one thing? These are important questions and demand careful answer. There are also other leaders who are not conspicuous who need attention. They are leaders of obscure groups, natural leaders of small, informal collections of people. They are real leaders, vitally related to the groups they serve. They should not be disturbed, under ordinary conditions, and unless we discover their present leadership relation we are apt to consider them for other positions with consequent social loss. On the other hand these persons may not be properly placed. They may be able to render better service at other points in the social organization but they should not be changed unless the desirability of the transfer is very apparent.

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[1] Adapted from "Community Leadership," a course in social engineering for village and country communities. Bureau for Leadership Training, N. Y., 1914.

The second source of leadership material is the vocations of people,—the business in which they are regularly engaged. Many trades and professions are of definite social value in an indirect way. Many business and professional men could make their business relations a source of social benefit and leadership service. Carpenters, machinists, engineers, physicians, dentists, lawyers, teachers, bankers, veterinarians, florists, gardeners, poultrymen, farmers and many others are doing things as a business which are of genuine interest to other people in the community from a purely cultural standpoint. Such people are the very best ones to give practical talks and courses of informal lectures on their special subjects. They can conduct effective study classes for several weeks at proper seasons of the year and render a piece of social service that is of positive value.

A third class of people who have great potential leadership are the people who have vocations or hobbies. They are interested in birds, insects, wild animals, pets, trees, flowers, inventions, astronomy, minerals, chemistry, stamps, coins, antiques, and many other things. These people are always glad of a chance to talk with others about these hobbies of theirs and there are always small groups of people who covet the privilege of sitting at the feet of these hobbyists and learning something about the things in which they are specialists. Many times these hobbyists have splendid collections of things along their line. These may be made the basis for evening after evening of the finest social intercourse,—that which has real educational value. Such people are real leaders, as well as the finest kind of teachers. The groups which gather about them are real social organizations. The more of such groups there are in the community the better. It is of such groups that a vital social structure is built. They make a valuable contribution to the socialization of the community, especially with reference to the younger people of the community.

A fourth source of leadership material is worthy of attention. Leaders can be made to order, they can be grown from seed. Social engineers frequently meet a demand for the organization of certain groups for which there is no available leader. It becomes necessary then to select some person who can fit himself for the work by definite study and experience. It is possible to take many boys and girls and by proper training prepare them to become leaders in some special line.

These four sources should furnish all the leadership needed for the largest possible development of the social organization of any community.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL LEADERSHIP[1]

G. WALTER FISKE

I HAVE never heard it suggested that there is any dearth of *latent leadership* in country life. The topic assigned me seems to assume that there is a lack of *developed* leadership, and I believe that this is generally true. The question at once arises: Why should leadership be lacking in the country if most city leaders in business, politics, and religion were country-bred? Opinions on this point vary, but it seems to be undoubted that city people who were country-born furnish fully their share of urban community leadership, the percentages suggested running from 50 to 90 per cent. In a casual reference just now to "Who's Who in America," I notice that out of the first 100 names selected quite at random, sixty-eight were born in the country. Leadership still comes in considerable measure from the country. How long this will continue, with the growth of cities accelerating, no one can say with assurance; but in the nature of things there are some reasons for believing that the more natural environment of the open country and the village will long continue to furnish the city with much of its best leadership material. Certainly so, if what Professor Giddings says is true: ''Genius is rarely born in the city. The city owes the great discoveries and immortal creations to those who have lived with nature and with simple folk. The country produces the original ideas and forms the social mind.'' Professor M. T. Scudder even ventures to offer a definite explanation for the great influence of rural leaders in the city: ''The fully developed rural mind, the product of its environment, is more original, more versatile, more accurate, more philosophical, more practical, more persevering, than the urban mind. It is a larger, freer mind and dominates tremendously. It is because of this type of farm-bred mind that our leaders have largely come from rural life.''

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[1] Adapted from Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XI, 54–70, Dec., 1916.

If all this is true—even making large allowance for overemphasis—why should we worry over leadership in rural life? Have all rural leaders gone to the city? If leadership thrives under the open sky, why not let it alone there? Will not rural life develop its own leaders anyway? This was the claim of a keen and successful woman farmer, who told me that she was very weary of rural uplifters and country-life specialists who live in New York City. ''If city folks would only let us alone, there would be no rural problem,'' she testily remarked! Yet the fact remains, as we are all aware, that country life is seriously deficient in two social elements: coöperation and leadership; and these two, though not identical, are inseparable, for it takes the latter to develop the former.

Rural Individualism. It is certainly true that an unsocial streak of *failure in coöperation* runs through all phases of country life and weakens all sorts of rural institutions. Dr. Butterfield rightly calls the American farmer a ''rampant individualist.'' He is apt to reveal the fact in all relations of life. With all the gains made by the modern centralized school, rural education is still dispensed generally on the old school-district plan, with niggardly supervisors of no educational vision and with each pupil buying his own textbooks. Roads are repaired likewise by township districts, by very local enterprise, sometimes still with individuals working out their taxes on the roads. Churches are maintained on the retail plan, the minister being hired by the year or even by the week, the churches themselves being altogether too numerous and too small for effectiveness because of selfish insistence upon individual views, mutually competitive, not coöperative. It is the same story in rural business. Both in production and in distribution farmers are slowly learning the lesson of working together and reaping the benefits of coöperation, which economizes costs and makes for efficiency and community welfare. Coöperative agreements in business have even been repudiated by farmers under the stress of temptation to personal gain, while rural distrust of banks and organized business is still proverbial, and is not confined to remote sections.

Socialization and Urbanization. These generalizations do not, of course, hold in the more progressive rural communities. There we find two parallel processes developing rather noticeably, the socializing and the urbanizing of country life. They are similar movements, but not identical. Socialization is a civilizing process in which individuals, by merging their rights, interests, and functions, develop community efficiency through group action. Very naturally this process develops most rapidly in the more favorable city environment; but it is now making progress also in the country against the conservatism and ultra-individualism of rural life.

Meanwhile in all but the most remote rural sections (and even there through the influence of the mail-order catalogues) you may observe the rapid urbanization of country life. I mean by this the spread of the social ideals and customs of the city. To the extent that these customs and ideals are constructive and adaptable to a wholesome country life, to that extent this urbanization makes for socialization and should be welcomed. Unquestionably this process, hastened by increasing intercommunication, is rapidly making country life and city life more alike, and is extending the limits of suburban life. It is to be hoped that this urbanizing will not destroy the unique social consciousness of rural civilization and make it simply imitative of the city. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that the city may more effectively teach the country the secrets of socialization, so that the social efficiency of urban life may be reproduced in the country. Rural people need to discover how city people work together in compactly organized business corporations; how they adjust, by many mutual concessions, their complicated civic relations, how they coördinate sympathy and human needs, and administer a network of social-service agencies, with greater and greater efficiency through perfected organization.

Why This Lack of Socialization? I hasten to avoid the suspicion of lack of sympathy with country life by saying that I believe this lack of socialization and coöperation in the country to be due less to selfishness than to lack of social opportunity and practice. In fact, these unsocial tendencies are really the result of overdeveloped rural strength of character. The pioneer life of the American farmers has developed heroic virtues in their personality which have made them as a class the most self-reliant in history. This self-reliance has been overdeveloped. It has led to self-aggrandizement, jealousy of personal rights, slowness to accept advice, proneness to lawsuits over property, thrifty frugality to a fault, indifference to public opinion, disregard of the opinions of experts. Doing so much of their thinking alone, they do not easily yield to argument. Working with the soil and with things more than with persons, they do not easily respond to leadership. They are likely to view strangers with suspicion because they do not know them; and for the opposite reason often they do not trust their neighbors nor coöperate with them because they do know them. Self-reliance overstressed leads them to distrust any initiative but their own. They refuse to recognize superiority in others of their own class. Positively, the resulting failure in coöperation explains the jealousies and feuds all too common in rural neighborhoods; and, negatively, it accounts for the lack of social organization and effective leadership. Again let me remind you of my caveat, that I am not speaking of the more progressive rural communities, but of rural life in general. I believe that these generalizations are less true in the West, but most true in the South and the older sections of the North and East, outside of urban tracts.

The Difficulty of Developing Rural Leadership. I am now ready to offer a suggestion in answer to the question: *If country life furnishes so much leadership for the city, why is leadership a problem in the country?* I am confident that there is no dearth of latent leadership in the country. In general, I do not believe it has been depleted by the exodus to the city, though in some places this has been serious. In general, it is mainly the question of *developing* the qualities of the leadership which are *latent* in the finest types of young men and women living in the country.

You will readily grant me that there is much latent leadership in country boys. Some of these boys go to the city, and there under urban stimulus and opportunity this latent initiative develops strongly, and they become vigorously influential personalities. Others of them, equally well endowed, remain in the country, and though they may become successful along individualistic lines and accumulate property, their latent leadership fails to develop. It fails to develop because of certain elements in the rural environment: the lack of sufficient stimulus and challenge, the lack of urgent opportunity for self-expression, possibly because of real social repression, an inhibition of social effort due to the positive disapproval of inhospitable minds. This is why, in so many rural villages, there is a persistent and deep-seated conviction that it is impossible to develop effective leadership for coöperation in community welfare until there have been a few judiciously selected, providential funerals. Hence an utterly stagnant community, socially speaking.

Again let me voice a gentle plea for consideration and charity. Mentally I rate the average rural citizen high, but he is likely to be *socially awkward*—mainly for lack of social stimulus and practice. The term "social awkwardness" may seem a rather strange one until we consider it in its relations. The country boy is likely to be awkward *physically* because of the overdevelopment of the large muscles and the underdevelopment of the accessory muscles. Hence his very gait sometimes suggests that he is still walking the furrows. He may be awkward also mentally. Though possessing strong mentality and accustomed to do clear thinking, he has lacked variety of stimuli, and still lacks sufficient opportunity for self-expression. He probably thinks more profoundly than his city cousin, but less alertly and rapidly. His social awkwardness is a correlative fact of which he is deeply conscious, and which explains his proverbial bashfulness, especially evident in the presence of city girls accustomed to dancing-school escorts. This in turn acts as a powerful inhibitive and discourages any social prominence. He is socially awkward because of the lack of social practice and adequate self-expression.

What, then, are some of the elements in the rural environment which constitute this social repression to which I referred a moment ago, which inhibits the development of the strong latent leadership in rural personality? In summary I would suggest: lack of the social stimulus which comes from city crowds and city life; lack of sufficient challenge to self-expression, with personal growth under social pressure; lack of variety of social opportunities to challenge variety of personal talent; and lack of adequate training in leadership, acutely felt by conscientious people who would gladly lead in community welfare if they felt they could. Then there is strong positive inhibition by rural conservatism in general; positive repression of ambition by neighborly jealousy (a genial combination of terms!); the deterrent effect of long mutual acquaintance with its leveling influence, too apt to level down all latent leadership by saying in effect, ''Start something if you dare! Show your head as a leader, if you want to lose it!'' Such rural social democracy is all too common, and it keeps everybody plodding along in the ruts instead of venturing forth in community leadership. Hence the homespun leader is discounted and emerges from the crowd with great diffidence.

The *farmer* is the natural leader in country life. Yet to a remarkable degree he falls short of his opportunity in leadership. He constitutes 30 per cent. of the adult male population of the country engaged in gainful occupations, yet he has remarkably small leadership, for instance, in politics. There are about seventy times as many farmers as lawyers in the land, yet what about their relative influence? Almost 60 per cent. of our present Congress are lawyers. Barely 3 per cent. are farmers. The 120,000 lawyers in America constitute less than one-half of 1 per cent. of the adult male workers. Their representation in

Congress is over 120 times as large as it should be, whereas the farmers' representation is but one-tenth of their proportionate share; that is, the lawyer's chance for political leadership, on the basis of our present Congress, is 1,200 times that of the farmer.

This condition, however, is not likely to continue. The farmer is beginning to discover and to wield for himself political leadership. It may or may not seem significant to you that practically every great rural state voted last month for the President who gave rural America the long-postponed rural-credit system, and that this President was elected over the protest of nearly every great urban state in the land. It is also worth noting that the "Farmers' Non-partisan Political League" which campaigned North Dakota last fall with the slogan, "A farmers' government for a farming state," swept the state clean last month, losing but one candidate on the state ticket and electing eighty-one out of 113 members of the legislature.

Before offering some specific suggestions in detail may I venture a few generalizations regarding the social function which we call leadership? It is a term that is increasingly used in these days. Its connotation seems simple, but it is seldom clearly defined. Professor Cooley's brief definition of leadership as "personal ascendency" is excellent as far as it goes. John R. Mott's definition, "Expert service," is perhaps more descriptive than definitive. To me *leadership is personal initiative, unusual efficiency, and executive ability by which an outstanding personality projects his ideals and purposes through group and mass activity.* It involves the development of unusual personal efficiency and social service of the highest potential. Leadership is a fascinating thing, not simply because it is the exercise of power and appeals to selfish ambition, but far more because it means superlative self-expression, the projection of one's best self into life, one's maximum service of his generation. In the very nature of things leadership involves the development of personality, growing under the pressure of responsibility, and its application in expert service of the community.

I do not think leadership is often an endowment. Rather it is an attainment, a conquest through struggle. We talk about "born leaders." We seldom meet them. Leadership is rarely a flash of genius. It is a growth, a patient development. Like most genius, it is the result of hard work, painstaking preparation, a process of adequate education and discipline, resulting in the progressive outgrowing of one's self into the mental and spiritual stature of efficient leadership. Neither do I conceive of leadership as an abstract entity, or something you can isolate, objectify, and gaze at, quite apart from human usefulness and specific functioning. As I do not accept the old "formal-discipline" theory of education, "mental discipline in general" means little or nothing to me. And just as I cannot believe in "general training of the judgment," for instance, I take little stock in *leadership in general* as a personal asset or endowment. Leadership is revealed only in specific functioning.

However, I think that there are five elemental factors which are always found in some degree in leadership. They seem to me essential in all kinds of worth-while leadership. They are knowledge, power, skill, character, and vision—knowledge, the result of study and instruction, the mastery and correlation of facts; power, the result of personal development, the storing of vital energy in personality; skill, the result of training, power guided by knowledge and made facile through practice; character, the moral element essential in all genuine leadership, the resultant of moral living, "an organized set of good habits of reaction"; and vision, the result of living the climbing life and developing constructive imagination. It is the leader's vision which steadies our confidence in him; for we trust only the leader who can see things whole and in their relations.

Rural Life Needs the Best. I make no apology for trying to apply these high ideals of leadership to the social needs of country life. Oberlin College was named eighty-three years ago for a great Alsatian community leader and philanthropist, Jean Frédéric Oberlin, who had died seven years before that date after a long career of usefulness. He was an educational prophet anticipating Froebel by forty years in his own specialty. He was perhaps the greatest country pastor in history. He was a community builder, a civilization restorer, whose services won the medal of the Legion of Honor from his king, Louis XVIII. He represented the flower of eighteenth-century French culture, with the best education the University of Strassburg could afford, and he developed capacity for leadership in marked degree; but he consecrated this leadership on the obscure altar of country life.

I have little patience with the hoary heresy that the city needs leadership but the country can get along with mediocrity. Yet this has been the general practice of the past two generations in America. It is still largely true in relation to all the professions. Too often the country is merely the colt's pasture for the young minister, teacher, doctor, lawyer, journalist, etc. The goal is the city when apprenticeship is over. Unfortunately this is not ideal for either city or country. For any sort of city social service the best place to do clinical work is in the city itself, or time is wasted. And the obverse is equally true. The ideal rural leadership is a whole-life service, devoted permanently to country life. I realize that at present financial considerations seriously hamper this ideal. The result is that, with our underpaid rural leadership, our underpaid country teachers, ministers, doctors, etc., we are threatened to-day with a *peasant leadership* in the country, undertrained and inferior in all respects to their comrades in the city. This is what country life is rapidly coming to unless the urban dwellers realize soon their need of adequately paid and fully trained community leaders. No movement can rise above the level of its leadership. It is trite to say that rural progress is lagging because of inadequately trained community leadership. The broadening of country life and its rising standards put increasing demands upon its leaders which they are often unable to meet. Rural institutions can no longer serve their communities effectively under the leadership of men lacking in the very essentials of leadership. Some country communities of genuine rural culture are demanding now as high-grade personality and training in their leaders as the cities demand, and they naturally refuse to respond to crude or untrained leadership. Our colleges meanwhile are educating thousands of country-bred boys and girls and then lavishly sending them to the cities, where all professions are already foolishly overcrowded. And in saying this I realize fully that the country communities must be willing to furnish a life-chance and a living wage to these bright young people before they deserve to get them to invest their lives in rural service.

I believe, then, that the first step in developing rural leadership is not the training of the individual, but the training of the rural community. Rural villages must be given higher ideals of leadership and of community spirit before they will appreciate and support the leadership they need. In every state of my acquaintance the *agricultural college* is rising magnificently to its opportunity in this regard, and to such colleges I believe we must look primarily for help. They are probably growing more rapidly than any other institution in America. They are not only struggling to keep pace with the demands made upon them for technically trained rural leaders, but through their varied extension service and their short courses in the winter they are also making great gains in spreading the gospel of the better country life with higher community ideals.

In very many places this leaven is unquestionably working, lifting rural life to higher levels. Every rural home which catches the new vision becomes a center of social influence making for better days. Every farm conducted on modern lines of scientific agriculture is a demonstration center of great value. To raise the economic level of farm life in the neighborhood is a real gain in itself; but the by-products of such a demonstration are also noteworthy, such as the discovery by the less progressive that there is really a scientific basis underlying farming; that the cost and effort of education are justified by the results; that the expert really knows, and that trained leadership is worth while; in short, that the modern standards of efficiency apply to rural as well as urban life. All this is giving a new dignity to rural life. Farmers are rightly becoming more class-conscious, and farm boys are finding a new interest and a real pride in progressive farming, as they discover the infinite opportunity for technical skill involved in it, making it not a mere matter of blind drudgery and a gamble with the weather, as they had supposed.

By the same method of demonstration (the only method which really convinces country people) community social standards can also be raised, as communities come to know what has actually been accomplished in other communities that are more progressive, in securing popular coöperation in community enterprises and building up a real socialization.

Volunteer Community Leadership. It is difficult to secure or to support professional leaders for rural organizations, and when the right sorts are found, they are usually only temporary. It is extremely necessary to develop a volunteer leadership for all local enterprises. This gives latent talents a chance to develop through self-expression in social service, and it secures continuity of leadership and stability of policy. . . . I do not believe that our problem of rural socialization will ever be solved finally by outsiders. *Resident forces* must ultimately accomplish it. The farmer himself and his natural leaders must take the burden upon them. The farm-bureau agents now serving over 1,200 counties in the United States have a conspicuous opportunity in this relation if they can only fit themselves to meet it. They are exactly the people who could make the most of such courses as were offered in the Cornell School for Leadership in Country Life. It is evident that no single agency or type of agency will be able to handle this matter successfully. All agencies involved in rural redirection and in specific service in any field of country life must share the burden. The rural department of the Young Men's Christian Association, within rather narrow geographical limits, is doing a fundamental and valuable work. Genuine centers of education for rural life, centralized schools with modern teachers and equipment, are rapidly meeting the community need. The new country church, the community-serving church, when you can find it, is making itself useful and respected. The pity of it is that the rural church is too frequently an arrested development, sadly weakened by divisions, inadequately equipped and manned, and lacking any social vision and community program. The right kind of a church, led by the right sort of a minister, has the best possible chance to serve the community and to develop the latent leadership of ambitious, right-minded boys and girls. But to accomplish this, united Christian forces are essential. Sectarianism, that curse of rural Christianity, must be crucified in order to save rural religion. When the day comes that rural Christians are ashamed to be Methodists or Baptists or Disciples because it prevents their being community Christians, then we shall see more Christian rural communities. There is great hope of the spread of the community-church movement. From Atlantic to Pacific you may find such churches, not simply undenominational union churches with no outside connection and missionary outlet, but a local union of churches as one congregation, having diversity in unity, loyally meeting their denominational duties abroad, but being an absolute unit in worship and community service at home. Given this united Christian force instead of a jangle of quarrelsome, competitive sects, and the community can afford a living salary for a whole man, a manly man, for a minister, a man with modern training and with the social vision. And in such a community there is a man's job; it is a real opportunity for community building as well as religious teaching, and they go well together. And not the least of such a country minister's opportunities for usefulness is the training of the latent leadership which he discovers in his young people. I believe that an intelligent effort should be made to enlist and train rural-minded young people for a life-investment in the country and for some sort of community leadership, if they have the capacity for it, rather than to encourage them to go to the city, where many of them will be social misfits and partial failures. A fair share of country boys and girls must stay in the country or city and country alike will suffer; and it must not be the survival of the unfit, but the selection of those best fitted for rural success and community service.

There has been such remarkable rural progress in the past generation, and even during the present decade, that we have no reason for pessimism for the future. The rank and file is unquestionably rising; the leadership will surely be forthcoming. Rural social organization has been fortunately simple. I share with Professor Mann, of Cornell, the belief that an era of organization is probably the next stage of the country-life movement. With keen vision he suggests:

> The new organizations will largely be farmer made and controlled. It is the stage of organized self-help. It will be marked by an apparently rapid shift from individualism to a social consciousness and sense of copartnership. The welding process is on. Group spirit is accumulating. Farmers as individuals will become less independent; farmers as a class will become more independent. Evidences of personal and group power, large

grasp, and achievement will be outstanding. In reality the farmer will be seen coming into his own. Leaders of this awakened rural manhood must be clear-thinking, direct, and of superior intelligence; and their foundations must be laid in a sure understanding of economic and social laws and of folk psychology superimposed on reliable farm knowledge.

Expert service will win leadership; our task is to develop rural experts.

SEAMAN A. KNAPP[1]

Essex County, N. Y., gave to America one of the greatest men that has lived in this or in any age. This man was Seaman A. Knapp, born in December 16, 1833. It was no part of his great work to lead armies, guide political parties, or write essays on the theory of government and the rights of man. His achievements were greater. He sought freedom and independence in the soil, and he found both, and gave them to the world.

A sketch of the first seventy years of his life is merely the story of his preparation for a great career. Dr. Wallace Buttrick summed it up by saying, "Seventy years of preparation for seven years of work"—a work that is referred to by Dr. Walter H. Page, the Ambassador to England, as "the greatest single piece of constructive educational work in this or any age."

As a boy he took advantage of such schools as were available in that early day in the country districts of New York. Later he entered and graduated from Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. He taught school for several years after graduating. But at the age of thirty-two he moved to Vinton, Iowa, and settled on a farm. There he regained his health and vigor. During the sojourn in Iowa Dr. Knapp was called to manage several lines of work, all of which were good training for the greater work yet to be done. He established a farm paper. There were few such papers in the country at that time. He, with others, conducted an agricultural campaign. The first course in Agriculture in the Iowa College was organized and the graduation of the first class took place during his incumbency as professor and president.

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[1] Adapted from U. S. Bureau of Education Bul. No. 43, Washington, 1913, pp. 26–29.

Another crisis in Dr. Knapp's life came about this time. His health gave way under a severe attack of rheumatism. Physicians said he must give up college work. Turning his face to the sunny South he organized a great development company, bought a million acres of land in southwest Louisiana and sent invitations all over the Northwest, "Come South, young men, and grow up with the country." Several thousand came. For many years he had believed that the South was destined for a wonderful future. He said, "Here is a people of pure Anglo-Saxon stock, energetic but conservative, without much admixture of foreign blood. These people should be the conservators of the best American traditions. Here is a productive soil, delightful climate, and long growing seasons."

He at once began to conduct demonstrations in rice growing and diversified farming for benefit of native farmers and immigrants. In 1898, however, he was authorized by the Secretary of Agriculture to visit China, Japan, and the Philippines, to make rice investigations. In 1901 he made a second trip to the Orient; he went to Europe in 1901 to study agricultural conditions, and later to Porto Rico to report on agricultural resources and possibilities.

His training was complete after seventy years of study to begin his great work. In 1903 the Mexican boll weevil began to make such destruction in the Texas cotton fields that Dr. Knapp was sent into Texas to fight its deadly ravages. He began by organizing the farmers and instituting the Farmers' Coöperative Work. Dr. Knapp visited one small farm near Terrell, Tex., about twice a month and directed operations there. Neighboring farmers met him in field meetings. At the close of the year he had proved that cotton could be grown in the face of the boll weevil, and was urged to extend his teachings and his methods throughout the whole country devastated by the pest. The next year, with funds furnished by Congress and by local business men, he appointed a few agents and began to organize different counties in Texas. The work soon attracted the attention of the country. Congress enlarged its appropriation, local aid was increased, and the work was extended to Louisiana and Mississippi. About this time the General Education Board of New York asked to be allowed to appropriate money for similar work in other cotton States. In a few short years this great work had covered the entire South, had a force of 1,000 agents, an enrollment of 100,000 farmers, 75,000 boys in the corn clubs, and 25,000 girls in the canning clubs. Every State in the South began to show an increase in the average corn production per acre, as well as other crops, and southern corn club boys attracted the attention of the world by producing more than 200 bushels of corn to the acre at low cost. Girls, too, demonstrated practical, scientific work in garden and home. During the year of his death, Russia, Brazil, England, South Africa, and Argentina sent representatives to this country to study the demonstration work. Sir Horace Plunkett, the great Irish reformer, came for the same purpose, and at the request of the King of Siam, Dr. Knapp sent one of his agents to take charge of agricultural matters in that country.

Dr. Knapp died in Washington, D. C., April 1, 1911. But he lived long enough after this important work was begun to see something of the wonderful results. Although his work was confined chiefly to the Southern States of America, every State and nearly every nation has felt his influence.

HENRY WALLACE[1]

HERBERT QUICK

IOWA has given to the nation three great figures in agriculture, who were also a trio of bosom friends. The names of these three are Henry Wallace, James Wilson and Seaman A. Knapp.

James Wilson made the Department of Agriculture, and served as its secretary for so long that he was dubbed "The Irremovable."

Seaman A. Knapp went to Washington with his friend Wilson, and became, in my opinion, the greatest educator this country has produced. He took advantage of a law appropriating funds for fighting the cotton-boll weevil, and began teaching the

[1] Adapted from the *Country Gentleman*, Vol. 81, p. 737, April 1, 1916.

farmers of the South the importance of diversified farming if they were to escape ruin. He fought the weevil of the cotton boll by starting the South on her change from cotton alone to cotton, corn and live-stock. And incidentally out of his work grew the gigantic, nation-wide farm-demonstration movement through county agents.

When Wilson and Knapp went from Iowa to Washington, Wallace stayed in Des Moines and devoted himself to his life-long work as editor of *Wallace's Farmer*.

Two of the trio have passed over the river. Dr. Knapp died in the harness two or three years ago, full of years, honors and good deeds. Uncle Henry Wallace has just joined him in the ranks of the great majority. He leaves vacant in American life a position so unique that, though he was not at the time of his death, nor was ever, so far as I am aware, the holder of a public office, his loss will be felt more keenly than would that of a thousand men who have been elevated to places of eminence by the votes of the people or by appointment.

Henry Wallace will be remembered by the farmers and many others when the great mass of governors, senators, congressmen, justices of the Supreme Court, and cabinet officers of the day are forgotten. For he worked with the people, not over them.

He was a Pennsylvanian who as a young man identified himself with the farming interests of the Middle West. The writer was born in Iowa, and is no longer young, but he does not remember the time when Henry Wallace was not a strong, quiet, uplifting force in that state His strength was exerted like that of a growing tree, which heaves the ground under its roots by the power which it drinks in through its branches out-spread in the sky. Nothing can resist such a force, because it is patient, unceasing, tireless, and always bears upward against the gross things with which it contends. Like the tree, too, Uncle Henry was strong because his roots were in the soil.

He was a good writer, but he never tried to shine as a fine writer. He chose the field of Iowa journalism at a time when its prospects for usefulness were far brighter than its chances of business success—mainly, I suspect, because he was a preacher.

He had been a minister of the Gospel, and wanted to preach to the farmers of the country along different lines from those usually followed in the pulpit. He believed the truth should be emphasized that good farming is a good way of serving God, and that passing down to future generations a well-kept farm, unimpaired in fertility and adapted to the nourishment of a happy, wholesome life, is in itself an act of worship and the best possible sort of partnership in the purposes of the Almighty, who the Scriptures assure us gave the earth to the children of men.

He believed, and for much more than a generation he taught every week to many thousands of his followers, that the earth God gave to the children of men was given not to this generation only, to be mined, robbed, exploited and ruined by greed, but to all future generations of the children of men as well; and that to rob mankind a thousand years hence is just as bad as to rob our neighbors to-day.

Who is thy neighbor? Those on earth to-day only? No, said Uncle Henry, thy neighbor is the human being who comes after thee just as truly as is the one who walks at thy side.

It was this philosophy which made him the president of the National Conservation Congress, and constituted him a tower of strength to the Conservation movement. It needs him to-day more than ever before, and will suffer by his loss. He wanted the coal, the lands, the minerals, the gas, the oils, the forests and the water power of the nation conserved for the use of the children of men to whom they were given, and not for some of the children of men. But mainly he spoke for the soil.

In a little book, ''Letters to the Farm Folk,'' published not long before his death, he said in a passage on the social life of the country people:

> But, you say, this would make us all stockmen. Well, that's what we ought to be, and will have to be sooner or later, if we are to have any satisfactory social life in the country. Growing grain for sale off the land starved the soil. I am speaking now for the voiceless land. It will not feed you unless it is fed; we will then become poorer and more discouraged; and how can we have any satisfactory social life among poorly fed and discouraged people?

Do you think Uncle Henry in this passage was speaking of a danger of to-morrow only? Not so. He saw when he wrote this passage all the centuries of the future. He was in the

Corn Belt, as I was, at a time when it was the common utterance of many farmers that their soil did not need manure, and that it was cheaper to move the sheds than to haul the manure.

He lived to see the question of fertility a growing one. He lived to see the need of commercial fertilizers cross the Mississippi, in spots—and he spoke, as he did as president of the National Conservation Congress, as he always did, ''for the voiceless soil.''

There is a revelation as to the bent of our old friend's mind in that expression, ''the voiceless soil.'' To him the soil was not dead at all, only dumb. It was the stuff of human life. Sow it with dragon's teeth, and it will produce a crop of armed men who will fall upon and destroy one another.

Ignorance, injustice, oppression—these are the dragon's teeth with which our American soil must not be sown or they will spring up armed men like those who are destroying each other in the Old World to-day. In the preface of this little book, which is his last word to the farm folks of America, Uncle Henry said:

> The conviction has been growing upon me of late years that the biggest thing on the farm is not the land nor the live-stock, but the farm folk, the people who live on the farm and out in the open country. These letters therefore will not be agricultural, but human. Do you know that the biggest thing in life, whether in city or country, is just to be a fine human being interested in all things that interest or should interest human beings?

SLOGAN CENTERED ABOUT HAPPINESS

His slogan for years was Good Farming, Clear Thinking, Clean Living, but it centered about the welfare and happiness of people. Good farming, that the life of the family might be a well-nourished life economically, and that the soil be conserved; clear thinking, that it might be intellectual, and not like that of sheep and goats that nourish a blind life upon the soil; clean living, because the life that is not based upon righteousness rots and makes both good farming and clear thinking impossible.

On this all-embracing text did Uncle Henry Wallace preach quietly, persistently, sanely and effectively for decades to one of the greatest audiences in America. What greater pulpit could he have chosen? Who can estimate the effect this preaching has had in sweetening and uplifting our national life, and shall have for generations to come? For thought does not die with the thinker. What shall a man do to have eternal life? Do as Uncle Henry Wallace did.

Even in this world, such a man's thoughts live in other minds to all ages. ''Our echoes roll from soul to soul, and grow forever and forever.'' They may be evil echoes or good ones. Those of Uncle Henry will be good.

He knew the soil. He not only knew that the soil, instead of being dead, is literally teeming with life—he also understood its moods.

Did you ever read one of his articles on some phase of soil management? Suppose, for instance, it was on the subject of clods; he made it interesting and always useful. He knew why the soil gets cloddy, and just how harmful clods are to crops. He knew the beneficence of tilth; the secrets of the warm, air-filled seed bed were open to his mind. In his mind the soil had place as the universal friend of humanity, and through him the voiceless soil found utterance for its claims.

Uncle Henry was a very, very wise man; for he added to those of his own long life the experiences of others. He knew his Corn Belt well, and all the better because he knew other regions and other lands. In order that he might better know Iowa, he studied England, Germany and Denmark.

He was one of those leaders of our agricultural thought who almost tremble at the increase in tenant farming, caused by the flocking of successful farmers and farm families to town. The ''retired farmer,'' rusting out a short life in town, was to him a national problem; and the transient, year-to-year tenant was an equally grave one. He once wrote:

> At present the law allows the tenant to rob the land or, in other words, to starve it. The law would put the tenant in jail if he starved his horses or cattle, but we allow him to starve the land.
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> The law would put the landlord in jail if he confiscated the horses of the tenant, but we allow him to confiscate the fertility which the first-class tenant stores in the soil, and seem to think it is all right. The law would put the tenant in jail if he sold the personal property of the landlord, but we are likely to approve the robbery of the fertility which the retired farmer had stored in the soil when the farm was his home.

The English Government has solved the problem in Scotland and England by compelling the tenant to put back into the land the manurial equivalent of the grains he sells off it; by preventing him from selling straw and roots, which must be fed to live-stock on the farm; by compelling the landlord to pay the tenant for the manurial value of the food-stuffs he has purchased and fed to the live-stock, or else let him stay until he has used up this fertility; and also by forbidding the landlord to raise the rent because of improvements the tenant has made.

During his later years he seldom spoke without mentioning this matter; but did Uncle Henry advocate the passage of such laws in this country? No; but he did urge American farmers—tenants and landlords—to think about these things, talk them over, and study the problem. No law, he always urged, is worth anything until it has public opinion behind it.

He hoped for the amendment of the landlord's lien laws so as not to be so severe on the tenants; he hoped for the passage of laws giving the tenant a claim, if his lease was not renewed, for the fertility that he had placed in the soil.

Mostly he hoped for these as beginnings. They would tend to stop this everlasting moving about, and make rural society more stable, so as to make better schools, better churches, better neighborhoods.

Uncle Henry is gone, but he leaves behind him something for us all to consider—his thoughts, his doctrines, his methods, and, most of all, the fine and noble lesson of his life.

There were no years of "retirement" for him. He was splendidly active to the very end.

He was a successful man. I am glad to write that. He died rather well off, I think; but that is of small consequence—he was successful anyhow, for he lived a life of activity, doing work which most writers would have called drudgery, but which to him was interesting because he saw all there was in it.

Like Joe Wing, whose life his very much resembled, he made a success of devoting himself to writing and speaking for the farming interests, for farm living.

I wish the lives of Uncle Henry Wallace and Joseph E. Wing could be read and studied by every farm boy in the United States.

They were both soldiers of the common good, ennoblers of the common life—and both of them proved that big men may build great careers out of the materials which surround every farmer's son in the land.

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CHAPTER XX

THE FIELD OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE[1]

A. R. MANN

Sociology is the study of human experience. It views the problems of life from the standpoint of their effects on the quality of the human beings who inhabit the earth. In its approach to the great industrial problems of the day, for example, it subordinates the important questions of how may production be increased most efficiently and economically to what it regards as the ultimate question of the effect of the organization of industry, of the hours, wages, and conditions of labor, on the persons who perform that labor. We say that sociology concerns itself with the human values rather than with the material values.

Not that the sociologist disregards the importance of the material values, or the production of wealth. He knows how indispensable these are, and how essential it is that the processes of wealth production shall be perfected for the good of the race. He is concerned with every factor which promotes or retards industrial efficiency. But his concern is not for increased output and more wealth for the sake of the wealth, but for the sake of the persons whose lives are bettered either in the production or in the use of that wealth. When the sociologist contends for an increase in wages, the end he has in mind is not that the workman may have a larger pay check and more money in his purse, but that he may be able to safeguard the health of his family better, may educate his children, may gain some release from the mere struggle for existence to devote to personal development. Not the accumulation of wealth, but the enlargement and refinement of personality is the end the sociologist seeks;

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[1] Adapted from *The Cornell Countryman*, Vol. XIV, No. 6, pp. 459–461, March, 1917.

and he judges everything by the criterion of its effect on human personality.

One of the first obstacles which confronts the sociologist is to clear the path so that the real end may be distinguished from the means for the accomplishment of that end. The besetting sin of a great deal of our present conduct of life is that we are prone to regard as the ends of all our endeavors those things which are merely means to higher ends. We hear it said that the end for which we are working in agriculture is to make farming more productive and more profitable. When we have attained that end, however, we have reached only a way station; the terminal lies beyond, and more prosperous farming becomes the means to enable the farmer to share more largely in the higher enjoyments of civilization. We seek better farming that we may have better farmers; we aspire to greater material resources that we may add to the abundance of human resources. What we have just said means that there is recognized a distinction between what are primarily economic considerations and what are primarily sociological considerations.

We may carry the discussion a step further in the hope of making our point a little clearer. Economics was early defined as the science of wealth. Sociology was first defined as the science of society. Economics takes for its field the consideration of the effect of all the processes on the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. Sociology claims as its province the effect of all the processes on the human beings themselves. This is a rather broad distinction, and closer analysis will show many points of contact. It is apparent that the sociologist and the economist must both deal with the same sorts of things, but from different points of view. Transportation interests the economist because of its bearing on the economic activities of farming. It interests the sociologist because it is a means of communication, of social intercourse, of promoting the associational activities of the people, and of increasing the satisfactions of life. The economist may be interested in good roads because of their effect on land values, on the costs of production and distribution, or on the type of farming which may be practiced. The sociologist is interested in good roads because they determine the amount of concourse of a neighborhood; the friendly visiting, the exchange of ideas, the discussion of community affairs, the removal of isolation and the promotion of fellowship, the attendance on school and church and social organizations, the accessibility of entertainments and recreational facilities.

The sociologist thinks of people, not as separate individuals, but in their group activities and relationships—how they act in the presence of one another and how they react on one another; what brings them together or holds them apart; how each is molded by his group; and how he helps to mold the group; what is the motive force in any given group activity; how strong that force is and how it may be directed.

The sociology of rural life is, roughly, then, the study of the associated or group activities of the people who live in the country viewed from the standpoint of the effect of those activities on the character of the farm people themselves. It recognizes as the final term in the whole country-life enterprise the farmer himself. It involves the consideration of the means, agencies, and methods, by which the farmer can realize in himself the best there is in human experience. Instead of subscribing to the doctrine that we "raise more corn to feed more hogs to buy more land to raise more corn" in endless succession, it contends that we improve our farming that we may improve each generation of farmers in endless succession. When we attain the end of raising corn and pork and potatoes it is that these may become the means for developing a more healthy, contented, resourceful, intelligent, and upstanding farm people. Our ultimate goal is a progressively finer rural manhood and womanhood, not merely a greater or more paying output of farm products. We cannot have a higher rural civilization except as we have advancement in the material resources of life. We are under necessity of improving agriculture by every device which art and science can discover that we may promote human well-being.

Conditions in the open country have not grown any worse since we began talking about them. It is when thought is given to how conditions may be improved that their shortcomings come to light. Rural sociology, if we may use that term for temporary convenience, takes cognizance of all of these shortcomings and seeks to discover means of correcting them so that country folk may live most contentedly and wholesomely. All the social handicaps and whatever contributes in any way to social poverty comes up for examination to see why it exists, on what it rests, and how it is to be adjusted. The social deficiencies come up prominently for attention. But the student of rural social conditions is as much concerned with promoting the prevailing, or normal, standards into progressively higher ones as he is in calling attention to the maladjustments in the situation.

The present widespread interest in rural conditions grew out of the discovery that certain conditions were not as satisfactory as they ought to be and that they were capable of being improved. And so we find ourselves following the normal procedure in the correction of social deficiencies, namely, by first calling attention to them, stimulating discussion, creating public interest, and crystallizing public sentiment into specific measures for amelioration. This was the great service which the Commission on Country Life, of which former Director Bailey was the chairman, rendered to the country. It was the work of this Commission which stimulated and energized the latent interest in the social welfare of the American farm people.

Most of our agricultural teaching is an application of the physical and natural sciences to the practical problems of the farm. In this newer field of thought having to do with social and economic conditions, we find the application of the no less important social sciences to the affairs of the farmer. And it can be said with truth that farmers themselves are as much concerned with the general social, economic, and political questions of the day as they are in the application of physical and biological science to the business of tilling the soil.

It is only recently, however, that much attention has been given to rural social science in our colleges of agriculture. But the interest has arisen so rapidly since the Commission on Country Life called attention to the importance of these questions that now sixty-four per cent. of the separate state universities teach the subject in some form and under one title or another. This new attitude on the part of the agricultural colleges was well expressed by President Benjamin Ide Wheeler in an address before the Association of American Agricultural

Colleges and Experiment Stations at Berkeley last August, when he said, "Our business is ultimately a sociological business. Considerations of soil technology but scratch the surface. What we are busied with here is trying to find out how to adjust this soil to the use of families." Or, as President Butterfield puts it, "The improved acre must yield not only corn but civilization, not only potatoes but culture, not only wheat but effective manhood."

In barest outline this describes the field which the sociologist regards as his province and indicates the general character of the problems which the student of the sociology of rural life finds so extremely absorbing; and it may serve to answer the editor's question as to the meaning of the subject. The study of this vast field has scarcely yet been entered upon and its conquests lie ahead of us.

THE SCOPE OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY[1]

JOHN M. GILETTE

Rural sociology, by reason of its very nature, is obliged to regard agricultural phenomena in their collective bearing or community aspect. All social phenomena are interesting objects of study and their treatment may be necessary as causal foundations. But those which relate to the determination of progress, which manifest in what manner the estate of the mass of men may be improved and how a more balanced functioning of society at large may be secured, are regarded as the most worthy of attention.

The first point of attack concerns rural responses to physical conditions. Variations in temperature, soil, and precipitation are, to a great extent, responsible for differentiating the United States into distinct agricultural regions by reason of the differences in crop responses. Crop responses, in turn, largely decide the forms of agriculture, stock-raising, dairying, large and small farming, and the density of population. Climatic conditions, the crop response, the forms of agriculture, and the density of population are strong determinants of the forms and extent of sociability and the amount of leisure. Climatic conditions and crop responses are also influential in directing the flow of immigration and the establishment of immigrant communities. While not immediately responsible for what rural life becomes, geographic factors have a large share in shaping them and are the ultimate conditioning factors.

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[1] Adapted from American Sociological Society Publications, Vol. XI, 166–180, 1916.

Perhaps the second center of consideration is that of population. The amount of the national, as well as of the rural, population is determined by the land. The density of the population rests on access to the land and involves attention to land ownership. The problem of tenancy may be considered here or under production. National and race elements in the population are significant for unity, coöperation, and progress. Distribution and density give rise to problems of isolation and coöperation. Gains and losses of population may denote a healthy or a morbid state and have import for nation and locality. Attention to the amount and causes of losses is imperative. Rates of natural increase of rural inhabitants are symptomatic of physical and social conditions. Proportions of age and sex hint at the productive efficiency and the marital state of rural peoples.

A third center of interest is that of production, production in the economic sense. Rural sociology is interested in certain phases of production only as they condition the various fundamental activities of rural communities. It does not regard wealth production as an end in itself, but as an essential foundation of a larger existence. Hence, it must inquire in what way such factors as the following have a determining influence among rural populations: per capita and per family production; extensive and intensive farming; capitalistic or large farming versus farming by small owners; farm ownership; farm tenancy; conditions of labor; marketing; rural credit. Closely related topics are taxation, the various forms of insurance, including accident insurance, and savings-account systems. The possibility of securing a better adjustment relative to many of these factors is worthy of study.

A fourth point of attack is communication. Roads, systems of road construction, local, state, and national systems of regulation, rural mail delivery, telephones, rural parcel post, interurban lines, automobiles, every means by which social activities are transacted and furthered, demand attention in the ratio of their importance. The creation of means of communication appears to lie near the heart of the evolution of society. Good roads and quickened transit may introduce a new rural society. But there is also a reverse side to the shield which must be regarded. With their power to quicken the community pulse, these agencies likewise possess a tremendous thrusting power toward urban life. It is conceivable that some sort of deruralization may be the outcome of improved communication.

A fifth center of interest is that of health. I do not stop to argue that rural health conditions have social import. That is conceded. These questions arise: How does health in the country where the facts are not so well known compare with that in the city where the facts are better known? To what unsanitary conditions are rural diseases due? What are effective and valid remedial measures? What devices and agencies are best adapted to reach the rural mind, respecting health and sanitation?

A sixth important consideration concerns neighborhood institutions and organizations. Perhaps the rural home and the family demand more attention than we have accorded them. The domestic institution in the country has its own peculiar problems. Some of the domestic concerns needing investigation and discussion are: the family system of control, whether patriarchal or modern; the home atmosphere and facilities for home satisfactions; woman's work, hours of labor, and the facilities for carrying on the work; her leisure and opportunities for recreation, association, and culture; rural child labor, perhaps the largest aspect of national child labor; the ethical basis of the participation of women and children in the agricultural process; educational, recreational, and associational facilities and privileges of country children.

The various neighborhood institutions and organizations of the country, as the community framework and the agencies of prosecuting the essential activities, deserve careful study. Those organizations which deal with economic production exclusively should be considered under production to the degree that they are seen to influence activities generally. Their social phases as such may find a place here at discretion. Relative to the institutions of long standing, the church and the school, we must inquire relative to each: Is it an efficient institution, when judged in the light of the community function it should perform? This supposes that we know what each of these agencies should accomplish. We apprehend this to the degree that we have arrived at a competent judgment as to the demands society at large and the local community make upon them. Upon the basis of this judgment, the investigator may proceed to formulate a program for school and church, which, if executed, will transform them into more serviceable agencies of community life.

Certain notable agencies and organizations have appeared in the rural affairs of our nation during relatively recent years. In the list may be mentioned granges, unions, societies of equity, coöperative buying and marketing organizations, institutes, farmers' clubs, non-partisan leagues, and recreation associations. The function of the rural sociologist is to evaluate their usefulness for social progress, to denote their limitations, to suggest needed modifications and how greater efficiency may be secured. It is also his function to make an inventory of the social resources of country communities and to reveal how the social capital may be increased.

A seventh significant line of study is the pathological social conditions of country life. The phrase is objectionable, but it covers important facts, such as poverty, pauperism, insanity, feeble-mindedness, and criminality. While in some particulars the country appears to better advantage than urban groups, in no case is it within the limit of complete safety. Rural populations are exceedingly behindhand in giving serious attention to the scientific and preventive methods of handling these menacing phenomena. As in many other fields of investigation and study of rural conditions, there is a dearth of reliable information relative to the frequency of occurrence and the provocative factors of these features. Real statesmanlike insight into devising appropriate and effective laws and instruments for exercising a safe control and the gradual reduction or complete elimination of these backward classes is sorely demanded. Extreme pauperism may be infrequent, the social evil as a local institution may scarcely exist, and all the insane may have been placed in hospitals; but a sane method of dealing with juvenile delinquency and of reaching the multitudes of epileptics and feeble-minded scattered among rural populations who are menacing the future by unrestricted procreation are among the most pressing imperatives.

An eighth center of interest is the psychology of the rural social mind. As a scientific curio the rural mind may be interesting to the highest degree. But its scientific understanding is more worthy because any approach to rural betterment and progress must be founded upon it. The psychological interpretation of that great urbanward movement, which sweeps from 300,000 to 400,000 persons a year from country to city, should prove most significant and fruitful. It is desirable also that the rural mind be studied to discover its avenues of appeal, for all steps in rural progress are conditioned by an educational program of presentation and discussion. In order that rural advance shall take place, it is likewise requisite that the social mind of the country neighborhoods be inoculated with the germs of aspiration and expectation of better things. The means and methods of reaching the rural intelligence which are specifically adapted to its characteristics must be discovered and developed.

The ninth group of considerations deal with semi-rural and town-country communities and their problems. The situation in towns and villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants, such groups of population being usually included with rural groups, is decidedly distinct from that prevailing in the open country. A study of conditions peculiar to these groups, the deficits existing, the effect of these on the developing youth, especially, and their correctives would appear to be worthy of the highest consideration. The town-country communities, the small town together with its surrounding agricultural district, present some specially interesting problems. There needs to be attention given to the possibility and methods of developing a larger and more vital coöperation between the two sides of such neighborhoods.

Tenth, some attention should be devoted to the relation of country to city. Since the influence of country upon city appears to be directly less than that of city upon country, it is appropriate for the rural sociologist to draw this group of considerations within his survey. The characteristic differences between the two types of community, their advantages and disadvantages for purposes of complete living, and their reactions upon each other would constitute some of the germane and more important inquiries.

Eleventh, it will probably be agreed that instruction in rural sociology should include matters pertinent to making investigations and surveys. If any advance is to take place among agricultural peoples there must first occur an adequate inventory of conditions obtaining among such populations. It is quite unreasonable to expect development along right lines without adequate knowledge. The training and equipment of a leadership which is able to rise to the importance of its task is a part of the function to be exercised by departments and courses which deal with the social situation. In the preparation of such a leadership what could prove more provocative of ultimate advance in rural life than a development of the ability to investigate, to survey, and to interpret the results with a view to securing the introduction of an improved social system?

THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY: PARTICULARLY IN THE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES[1]

DWIGHT SANDERSON

THE late professor C. R. Henderson seems to have been the first to offer a course on rural social life in this country. In the announcements of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago for 1894-95 there appeared:

> "31. Social Conditions in American Rural Life. Some problems of amelioration, presented by life on American farms and in villages will be considered. M. First Term. Winter Q. Associate Professor Henderson."

The Quarterly Calendar (Vol. III. No. 4) shows that sixteen students were registered in the first class. From that time until two or three years before his death, Professor Henderson gave the course almost every summer, though the name was changed to "Rural Communities."

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[1] Adapted from American Sociological Society Publications, Vol. XI, 181–208, 1916.

. . . In the fall of 1902 Kenyon L. Butterfield was made instructor in rural sociology at the University of Michigan and gave his first course in that subject. In 1903 Mr. Butterfield called attention to the importance of the study of the social sciences by agricultural students in an article entitled "An Untilled Field in American Agricultural Education," in which he defined rural social science and outlined its content. In 1904 as president of the Rhode Island College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts he gave the first course in rural sociology given in any of the land-grant colleges.

. . . Among the replies received, 35 have stated definitely when the course was first given at that institution. By years, they may be summarized as follows: 1894-5, Univ. Chicago; 1902, Univ. Michigan; 1904-5, R. I. College, and Cornell Univ.; 1906-7, Univ. Missouri and Mass. Agr. College; 1908-9, Univ. No. Dakota; 1910-11, 2 institutions; 1911-12, 2; 1912-13, 4; 1913-14, 5; 1914-15, 8; 1915-16, 5; 1916-17, 2 (announced). It seems safe to infer that probably not over a dozen institutions were teaching rural sociology prior to 1910, and that fully half of those now offering courses have established them within the last three years.

Sixty-four per cent. of the 48 land-grant colleges; 45 per cent. of the 20 state universities—separate from land-grant colleges; 32 per cent. of the 91 normal schools and 9 per cent. of 300 other colleges and universities; or 21 per cent. of the total 459 institutions examined are teaching rural sociology. It is obvious that in sparsely settled states like Arizona, Montana, and New Mexico, there should be but little demand for this subject, but it seems odd that agricultural states like Nebraska and South Carolina should not have a single institution teaching this subject. It is also interesting to note that the subject finds but little appreciation in the curricula of eastern institutions. Thus of the 148 institutions in the fifteen states of the Atlantic seaboard but 20, or 13 per cent., gave instruction in rural sociology and seventeen of these were land-grant colleges, for of the ninety-five private colleges and universities in these states only three, Harvard University (and

Radcliffe College), Syracuse University, and Adelphi College give courses.

DEFINITIONS—RURAL SOCIOLOGY[1]

"RURAL sociology is the study of the forces and conditions of rural life as a basis for constructive action in developing and maintaining a scientifically efficient civilization in the country."—PAUL L. VOGT, Department of Church and Country Life, M. E. Church.

"Rural sociology is a study of the social forces and factors operating in rural life with a view to its more adequate organization."—JOHN PHELAN, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

"The study of the forces and activities—institutional and non-institutional—which are concerned with the evolution, organization, and improvement of rural life."—L. L. BERNARD, University of Minnesota.

"Rural sociology is concerned with the evolution, present status, and suggested betterment of rural social institutions."—A. S. HARDING, South Dakota Agricultural College.

"Rural sociology is a study of men living together in the country, and of the forces and factors which are acted upon by men and which react upon them in their reaction with one another."—GEORGE H. VONTUNGELN, Iowa State College.

"Rural sociology is a science of the reciprocal relations of human beings living in rural communities. It also considers the reciprocal relations of rural and urban communities."—ERNEST BURNHAM, Western State Normal School, Kalamazoo, Mich.

"A study of institutions and groups of community life in the open country."—E. L. HOLTON, Kansas Agricultural College.

"A study of group actions and reactions of human nature under country conditions."—E. C. BRANSON, University of North Carolina.

"In general, it is applied sociology; specifically, a study of rural conditions in the light of knowledge of society with a view to discovering and suggesting ways of improving them."—Newell Sims, University of Florida.

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[1] From Sanderson, "The Teaching of Rural Sociology: Particularly in the land-grant colleges and universities," Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XI, 192–194.

"Exposition of the social problems of rural life with suggestions for home and neighborhood amelioration."—G. Coray, University of Utah.

"Rural sociology is, therefore, concerned with the way in which farm people live together in their neighborhoods and as a class. It has to do with the reactions of human character under rural environment. It includes a description of the associated efforts that minister to the common desires, needs and purposes of farm folk. It covers the problem of 'better living,' of 'country life' as a whole. It emphasizes the large needs and methods of the common life of rural people. It involves the question of the permanence of a satisfactory rural civilization and of the social agencies or institutions, necessary to such a civilization."—Kenyon L. Butterfield, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

"The sociology of rural life is, roughly, then, the study of the associated or group activities of the people who live in the country viewed from the standpoint of the effect cf those activities on the character of the farm people themselves. It recognizes as the final term in the whole country-life enterprise the farmer himself. It involves the consideration of the means, agencies and methods by which the farmer can realize in himself the best there is in human experience."—A. R. Mann, Cornell University.

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